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Underground Railroad Research in Select Indiana Counties

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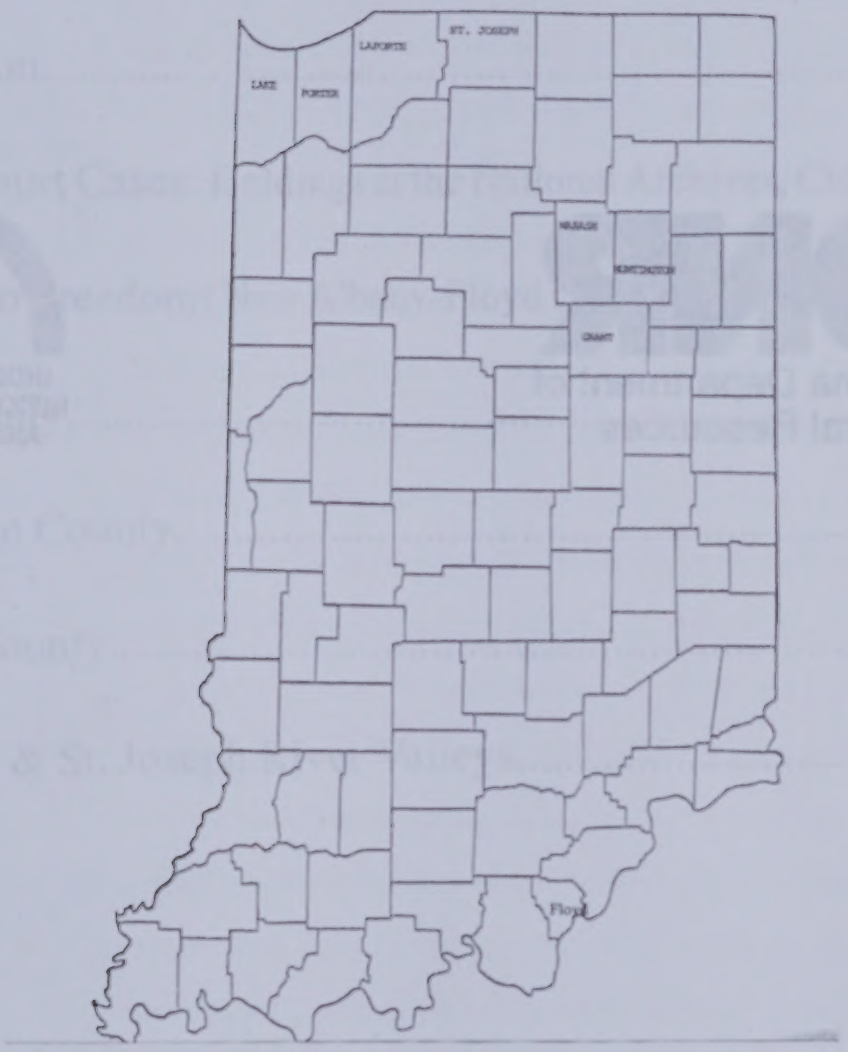
Underground Railroad Research in Select Indiana Counties



Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology
October 2003

NATIONAL
UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
NETWORK TO FREEDOM

DNR
Indiana Department of
Natural Resources

INDIANA DIVISION OF
HISTORIC PRESERVATION
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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INDEX

Introduction.....4

Federal Court Cases: Holdings at the National Archives, Chicago.....8

Gateway to Freedom: New Albany-Floyd County, Indiana.....31

Grant County.....53

Huntington County.....69

Wabash County.....77

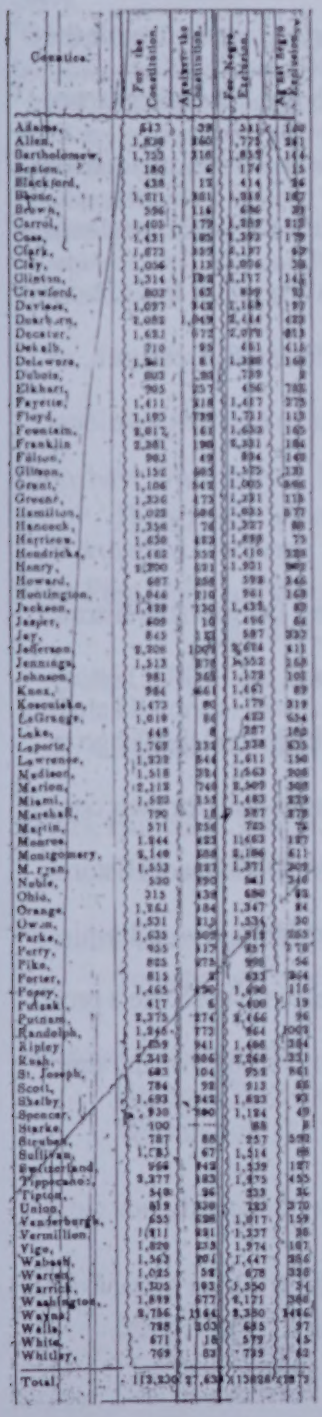
Kankakee & St. Joseph River Valleys.....89

INTRODUCTION

In 1787, the United States Congress created the Northwest Territory, with Indiana being a part of this new territory. Article 6 of the Northwest Territory Ordinance forbade slavery northwest of the Ohio River, although this clause did not free those slaves who had been residents of the territory before 1787. References to slaves can be found in various areas of Indiana including Vincennes, Floyd County, and even as far north as La Porte.[1] When Indiana became a territory in 1797, the first territorial governor, William Henry Harrison, encouraged slavery as a way for Indiana to advance and to compete with other emerging states. While Hoosiers living in the newly formed territory varied among their views on slavery, by 1802 Indiana political and business leaders petitioned the United States Congress to repeal Article 6 of the Northwest Ordinance for ten years. During that time period, any enslaved person brought into the Indiana Territory would remain a slave upon the reinstatement of Article 6. Included in this petition, the children of these enslaved people would remain slaves.[2] Congress denied their petition, so in 1805 the Indiana Territory House of Representatives passed an "Act Concerning the Introduction of Negroes and Mulattoes into this Territory." Under this law, anyone who held or purchased slaves elsewhere in the United States could transport them to the Indiana Territory and indenture them. The "contract holder" would determine the number of years of the servitude and children served their parents' contract holder's households. Either enslaved African Americans signed the indenture contract or face removal from the territory and being sold in a southern state.[3] When Indiana became a state in 1816, the new State Constitution contained a statement similar Article 6 of the Northwest Ordinance. Despite this fact, individuals, as late as the 1820 census, are enumerated as "slave."

The 1816 Constitution and subsequent rulings by the Indiana Supreme Court eliminated slavery and indentured servitude in Indiana, but this did not make Indiana a friendly place for Blacks to live, whether freed or enslaved. The new State Constitution did not allow for slavery in Indiana, which meant that people in the Legislature were basically anti-slavery, but this did not make them pro-Black. Various laws exemplified these sentiments. Many Hoosiers lobbied their new House of Representatives and State Senate to require free blacks coming into Indiana to post a bond stating they would not be a nuisance or cause trouble; the law did not require any Whites to file this bond. By 1831, all Blacks had to register with

county authorities and post the bond. Despite this law, many counties did not adhere to the new requirement. African Americans lived in almost every Indiana county after 1830, but only a small handful of these counties have these "Negro rolls." With the new 1851 Indiana Constitution, African Americans could not vote, serve in the militia, or testify in a trial where a White person was a party. As individuals voted whether or not accept the 1851 Constitution, they also voted whether or not to exclude new African Americans from settling in the state. Only two counties (Elkhart and LaGrange County) had more citizens voting against the "Negro exclusion" clause than for it.[4] Despite this hostility, free Blacks did settle in Indiana. At least thirty Black farm communities were established in between 1820 and 1850, along with those individuals who chose to live in cities throughout Indiana.[5]



Counties.	For the Constitution.	Against the Constitution.	For Negro Exclusion.	Against Negro Exclusion.
Adams,	643	39	511	140
Allen,	1,828	360	1,775	241
Bartholomew,	1,725	216	1,855	144
Benton,	180	6	174	15
Blackford,	438	12	414	36
Boone,	1,811	301	1,910	167
Brown,	596	116	686	39
Carroll,	1,405	179	1,289	215
Cass,	1,451	195	1,392	179
Clark,	1,872	105	2,137	69
Clay,	1,056	113	1,056	38
Clinton,	1,314	104	1,117	145
Crawford,	802	163	899	92
Daviess,	1,097	348	1,148	197
Dearborn,	2,082	1,049	2,414	423
Decatur,	1,632	172	2,070	213
Dekalb,	710	95	681	115
Delaware,	1,361	81	1,380	160
Dubois,	803	105	739	9
Elkhart,	705	257	456	785
Fayette,	1,411	318	1,417	275
Floyd,	1,193	738	1,721	113
Fountain,	2,017	161	1,650	145
Franklin	2,381	196	2,331	184
Fulton,	903	43	894	143
Gibson,	1,152	605	1,575	230
Grant,	1,106	342	1,005	466
Greene,	1,326	473	1,231	218
Hamilton,	1,023	606	1,625	177
Hancock,	1,356	74	1,327	80
Harrison,	1,650	183	1,858	75
Hendricks,	1,462	352	1,410	228
Henry,	2,200	521	1,921	369
Howard,	687	258	598	346
Huntington,	1,044	210	961	163
Jackson,	1,439	130	1,435	80
Jasper,	409	10	496	66
Jay,	843	132	587	332
Jefferson,	2,208	1,067	2,674	611
Jennings,	1,313	378	1,552	140
Johnson,	981	268	1,178	108
Knox,	984	4661	1,467	89
Kosciusko,	1,473	89	1,179	319
LaGrange,	1,019	84	422	654
Lake,	448	8	287	169
Laporte,	1,769	334	1,338	435
Lawrence,	1,939	344	1,611	150
Madison,	1,518	384	1,663	208
Marion,	2,218	748	2,509	308
Miami,	1,503	155	1,483	229
Marshall,	790	18	387	378
Martin,	371	256	725	75
Monroe,	1,944	423	11663	187
Montgomery,	2,140	588	2,186	611
Morgan,	1,553	281	1,371	209
Noble,	530	190	841	240
Ohio,	213	438	680	93
Orange,	1,361	184	1,347	84
Owen,	1,531	213	1,534	30
Parke,	1,635	309	1,918	265
Perry,	935	117	837	218
Pike,	825	275	998	54
Porter,	815	2	623	204
Posey,	1,465	450	1,690	216
Pulaski,	417	6	400	19
Putnam,	2,375	274	2,466	96
Randolph,	1,946	772	964	1002
Ripley,	1,659	941	1,496	284
Rush,	2,342	806	2,268	321
St. Joseph,	683	104	953	861
Scott,	784	98	913	68
Shelby,	1,693	245	1,833	93
Spencer,	930	700	1,124	49
Starke,	100	—	88	8
Steuben,	787	88	257	580
Sullivan,	1,783	67	1,514	69
Switzerland,	964	842	1,539	187
Tippecanoe,	2,377	883	1,875	455
Tipton,	548	96	533	36
Union,	819	320	783	270
Vanderburgh,	655	598	1,017	159
Vermillion,	1,011	281	1,337	38
Vigo,	1,829	259	1,974	107
Wabash,	1,563	904	1,447	356
Warren,	1,025	58	678	338
Warrick,	1,305	193	1,550	54
Washington,	1,819	677	2,171	266
Wayne,	2,736	1544	2,380	1446
Wells,	788	303	685	97
White,	671	18	579	45
Whitley,	769	83	739	62
Total,	113,830	27,630	113828	28173

Voting results published in the Wabash Weekly Gazette on September 24, 1851.

In order for an escaping slave to research freedom, one choice was to move north. By the time that Canada became a destination for fugitives, Indiana became one of the primary lands that individuals had to transverse in order to find their freedom. Regardless of this hostility towards African Americans, the pro-slavery forces, or those who were indifferent to the plight of the escaping slave, fugitives could find assistance in Indiana. Hundreds of untold stories of enslaved African Americans finding freedom, with no assistance, will probably remain mostly untold. However, historians have been able to expose stories of those individuals offering various forms of support, usually through the Underground Railroad (UGRR). "The Underground Railroad refers to the effort—sometimes spontaneous, sometimes highly organized—to assist persons held in bondage in North America to escape from slavery."[6] While most fugitives started their journey for freedom without assistance, and many completed their self-emancipation without aid, "each decade in which slavery was legal in the United States saw an increase in the public perception of a secretive network and in the number of persons willing to give aid to the runaway."[7]

This entire report attempts to identify people, places and events associated with the UGRR or abolition in select Indiana counties (Huntington, Wabash, Grant, Floyd, La Porte, Lake, Porter, and St. Joseph). This report compliments other works of recent research in Indiana, many of which were published by the Indiana Department of Natural Resources-Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology (DHPA). The DHPA plans to publish additional reports as new research is completed. Instead of focusing on structures, this report will focus on the stories of those individuals seeking their freedom and those who offered support. Individuals willing to ignore the law, put their lives on the line, and work towards the common goal of helping escaping slaves find freedom accomplished the UGRR. It is the individuals, not their homes that are the focal point of the report. This history does not purport to reveal every incident or individual. Rather the information in this document should be seen as starting points for further research and exploration. The research time for this grant was limited, so more investigation is needed. In addition, in some cases discovery of new names occurred at the very end of the time allotted for research, so additional work will need to be done on these individuals. The paper also attempts to expose those local legends where UGRR is unlikely or impossible.

The entire project was finance through a grant from the National Park Services' *Network to Freedom Program* and through staff time from the Department of Natural Resources- Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology. Through the federal *Network to Freedom* program, the UGRR history throughout the United States, not just Indiana, is being uncovered and interpreted. Special thanks go to the National Coordinator, Diane Miller and the Midwest Regional Coordinator, James Hill, for their continued support of Indiana's research. The Indiana Department of Natural Resources – Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, which manages the *Indiana Underground Railroad Initiative*, administered the grant. Individuals associated with the writing of the chapters are affiliated with the State's program as well as the *Indiana Freedom Trails*, an organization of researchers working throughout the state to located UGRR evidence.

ENDNOTES

[1] The earliest report of African Americans living in present day Indiana is in a 1746 report on French settlements, which states that forty white men and five black slaves lived in Vincennes. "The First Colored Person in La Porte," Charles Cochran papers, La Porte County Historical Society; "Reminiscences of Mrs. Mary Heckman Fuller," Heckman-Fuller Papers, La Porte County Historical Society; Indiana Historical Bureau, ed, "Black Settlers in Indiana," *The Indiana Junior Historian,* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1993); Pamela R. Peters, The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2001).

[2]Charles E. Schamel, Mary Rephlo, Rodney Ross, et al, Guide to the Records of the United States House of Representatives at the National Archives, 1789-1989, Bicentennial Edition, (Washington, D.C.: House of Representatives, 1989).

[3]Gwendolyn Crenshaw, Bury me in a Free Land: The Abolitionist Movement in Indiana: 1816-1865, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1993).

[4] In Elkhart County, 786 people voted against exclusion, while 486 voted for exclusion. In LaGrange County, 654 voted against exclusion and 423 voted for exclusion. "Table showing results of vote," Wabash Weekly Gazette, 24 September 1851, Volume IV, p. 2 c. 2.

[5] Indiana Historical Society, "Black Settlers in Indiana."

[6] Marie Tyler-McGraw and Kira R. Badamo, Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study, (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1998), 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1.

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FEDERAL COURT CASES:

Holdings at The National Archives, Chicago

By Jeannie Regan-Dinius

There are various ways to research the history of the Underground Railroad (UGRR). Whether by examining newspaper articles, diaries, reminisces, or court cases, glimpses of the past and the activity individuals took in relation to assuring that runaway slaves found the shelter, food, directions or protection needed in order to escape enslavement can be discovered. Probing court records is one of the most fruitful ways to obtain information about the individual accused of helping the fugitives, the fugitives themselves, known accomplices of the accused, and the court system itself. The ways in which individuals found themselves in the court system varied widely. While there were no Indiana State criminal laws under which a person could be convicted, State circuit courts heard cases involving "writ of habeas corpus." A Hoosier could be arrested under the Federal jurisdiction for violating the Fugitive Slave Act s and prosecuted in federal courts. Or, he may have violated another state's laws, for example in Kentucky it was illegal to "Entice a Slave" to leave the plantation.

The Judiciary Act of 1789 created the U.S. District and circuit courts. In general, district courts had "jurisdiction in admiralty and bankruptcy cases, suits for penalties or seizures under Federal Laws, non-capital criminal proceedings, and suits exceeding $100 in value in which the United States was the plaintiff. Most states had one district and one circuit court with additional districts created as the business of the courts increased."[1] From 1816-1867, Indiana had only one federal district.[2] The federal district court heard criminal cases as well as civil cases between Hoosiers and those living outside of the Indiana borders. This "Diversity of Citizenship," when a dispute is between citizens of two different states, allowed for a non-bias ruling to be made because the states might have differing laws. By hearing the challenge in federal court, no one state law prevailed over another.

The reclamation of fugitive slaves was one of the most divisive and controversial aspects of the constitution debates. "Among all the colonies it had become a custom, or rather a matter of inter-colonial comity, if a slave ran away from his master into another state or a fugitive was fleeing from justice he should be returned to the state from which he fled."[3] This tradition continued after the Revolutionary time as a way of "reclaiming chattel property or bringing about justice." For southern politicians, they thought it necessary to have a manner in which slave owners could retrieve their property. A clause, sent to Congress, read "No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be

delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."[4] This clause passed through Congress and President George Washington signed it into law in 1793. This first fugitive slave law allowed for the return of fugitives throughout the United States. It allowed for any one apprehending a fugitive to take the accused fugitive before a U.S. judge or before a magistrate, prove that the accused owed service, and then receive from the judge authorization to remove the individual to the state from which he fled. Some states, like Pennsylvania, passed laws that set in detail this trial process. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 concluded that the issue of escaped slaves was an interstate commerce issue; a property owner simply had the legal right to retrieve their property. For this reason, Indiana abolitionists would want as many occurrences to remain under the jurisdiction of the Indiana State Court system, which allowed for the filing of a "writ of habeas corpus." If filed in time, this could in sense give "ownership" of the person to the abolitionist, who could then assist the fugitive out of the State before the slave owner could file in federal courts.[5] These types of State cases would be heard in individual districts, with the information held by the clerk of the court in the individual counties. For this reason, researchers must review court cases in each county to uncover information surrounding state cases difficult to find. This requires research in each court and each filing, which would may not be immediately evident as a slavery related case. Researchers would need to examine most cases. The federal court system would hear criminal cases (violation of the federal Fugitive Slave laws) and cases with a "diversity of citizenship." The National Archives is the repository for these cases.

Southern politicians recognized the loop with the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 and pushed for changes in the law that would assure that owners could retrieve fugitives from other states.[6] The result was the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. The new law "provided that United States Commissioners should have the powers which had previously been held by local judges in the act of 1793. It was incumbent upon the judges of the district courts of the United States and the judges of the superior courts of the United States territories to appoint from among the several persons who may for the time being hold office under the government of the United States any number of commissioners not exceeding three in each county within their respective districts and territories of the United States…"[7] The new law also required all citizens "to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of ht this law." The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act also changed jurisdictions, making the legal issue of a fugitive slave paramount; no state law could interfere with

the slave issue. The new law bypassed State trials, which meant that "writ of habeas corpus" could not apply.[8]

For this report, the records of the Indiana, Southern District, Indianapolis from the years 1819-1870 were reviewed to expose information relating to UGRR activity, slavery, or the abolition movement. Because cases involving those escaping slavery can be found in county records, State Supreme Court rulings, and federal court records, this chapter will not discuss every court case associated with UGRR activity involving Hoosiers, but rather used a specific resource. These materials, housed at the National Archives – Great Lakes Region located in Chicago, Illinois, cover the record group *Records of the District Courts of the United States*. Under this record group, a variety of resources exist: docket books, which summarize the proceedings in each case; case files, which have the papers of a specific case; and order or judgment books, which document the amount of any monetary judgment, were used to find cases. From the cases recovered, several other sources were used including, but not limited to, attorney general's letters, census records, family papers, newspapers, and county histories to complete the story. The goal was to determine the cases, those involved, and the events surrounding the case. Unfortunately, not all the material is extant. Only the Benjamin Waterhouse trial had a case file, which contained the warrants for arrest and costs associated with the trail, but no documentation of what evidence they had against Waterhouse. The Waterhouse case file did not contain witness statements, testimony, or any material presented at the trial. For this reason, it is necessary to assume some of the results and outcomes supported by family history, newspaper evidence, and other material found.

The staff at the National Archives, especially Martin Touhy, was extremely helpful in interpreting the information found, guiding me to additional resources that might contain a reference to the cases being studied, and explaining how the records were kept. William Smith, prosecuting attorney in Decatur County, was extremely helpful in understanding jurisprudence history and explaining why specific cases were heard in federal courts. Staff members at the Indiana State Library helped with newspaper research, census records, and researching in their manuscripts collection. Staff at the Indiana Historical Bureau provided assistance and a sounding board for theories and problems. Tom Hamm, archivist at Earlham College, provided assistance utilizing family documents and understanding Quaker history.

HOOSIERS IN FEDERAL COURT

The first judge for the Indiana District was Benjamin Parke (September 2, 1777 - July 12, 1835). Parke started his law career in Indiana as an Territory lawyer in Vincennes from 1801-1804. He went on to become the Territorial Government Attorney General (1804-1808), while also serving as a Territorial Legislator in 1805 and in the Territorial House of Representatives from 1805-1808.[9] He was an Indiana Territory judge (1808-1816), when he was finally appointed to the United States District Court of the District of Indiana in 1817. He served at this post until his death in 1835.[10] Parke heard the following cases:

Samuel Todd V. William Bulla and Samuel Todd V. Andrew Hoover

The first cases found in the records at the Chicago branch of the National Archives associated to the UGRR are Samuel Todd V. William Bulla and at the same time Samuel Todd V. Andrew Hoover.[11] On September 10, 1825 Samuel Todd of Kentucky sued William Bulla and Andrew Hoover, both from Wayne County, Indiana, each for $500.00 for loss of property. Todd accused the men of helping his slave Peter escape. Peter had fled Kentucky "in the month of August in the year of our Lord 1821 and run away into the State of Indiana which at the {unclear} of his departure and running away was justly owing service and labor by the laws of Kentucky...."[12] While Peter had left in 1821, it is unclear how long he lived in Wayne County. By the time of his arrest in Richmond, he had changed his name to George Stellow. Peter had come to Wayne County after the 1820 Census and did not purchase property,[13] so there are no known records indicating his residence. Three population concentrations, known as "free black settlements," existed in this portion of eastern Indiana (Randolph County, Indiana) about this time period, but these communities were too far north if the courts considered him living in Wayne County.[14]

In the spring of 1825, Samuel Todd sent two agents to Wayne County, Indiana, to claim Peter and by June 18, 1825, John Millekin (agent for Samuel Todd) had arrested Peter. Millekin then went to the Justice of the Peace, asking him to approve Peter's removal back to Kentucky. While at the Justice of the Peace, a group of people broke Peter out of jail with "bodily force and violence" and with full knowledge of Todd's rights as a plaintiff.[15]

There are several accounts of what took place that day. Wayne County had newspapers during the 1820s, but unfortunately few have survived and none remain from the time period surrounding the court case, but remembrances of the events surface in later newspaper articles. One article stated "while the fugitive was sitting near an open window…someone gave a signal to the fugitive to jump out of the window. Thereupon he made a rush to escape and one of the agents seized him, when my father, through an impulse of the moment and believing all such agents to be kidnapers, seized the agent by his shoulders and threw him flat on his back. When thus rescued, Sheldon made tracks for Canada."[16]

Andrew Hoover and William Bulla were related; Bulla married Hoover's daughter Elizabeth. The families were both Quakers and fragments of the family papers are archived at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. In the collection, two completely different versions of this event, which have been handed down by the two families, can be found. The account found in the self-published genealogy book by Andrew Hoover descendents goes:

> A party of Kentucky gentlemen was in the card room of a saloon. They had a slave, Jerry Terry, with them. Three Quakers, who naturally were opposed to slavery, concocted the idea of freeing him and sending him out of danger by the underground railway. The three were William Bulla, Andrew Hoover III, and Samuel Charles. They visited the saloon, no doubt much to their distaste, and managed to let the slave know that, at a given signal, he was to make a leap for the window, those inside saw what was going on, and a tug of war ensued, with the Quakers pulling from the outside and the Kentuckians from the inside. Before the Quakers could get away, the men from Kentucky rushed outside and caught them. The trio slave rescuers found themselves in jail for the night. Next morning they consulted Andrew's brother, Judge David Hoover, and his advice was that they had to buy the slave to prevent charges from being placed. The price was set at a thousand dollars and various sympathizers, including Judge David, chipped in to help raise the funds.[17]

The alternative story can be found amongst the mill records, land deeds, and other financial papers in a handwritten family biography written by Daniel Bulla (William's son) dated May 22, 1896 titled "The History of an Old Pioneer." This piece would later become an article in the Richmond Palladium and Sun-Times and a self-published family genealogy titled "A Family in History: Stories of the Hoover Family." Daniel was a boy at the time and has a slightly different view of the event:

> About 1823 Samuel Todd sent out two slave catchers to Richmond. They caught George Shelton a black man who was driving an ax lumber wagon for Able Thornberry. While on Pearl St they caught him about where the first Methodist Church now stands. They took him down to John Finleys [sic] office to try the rights of property and while waiting, old Cory went to Centerville for James Raridan to plead for the Kentuckians. The darkey was sitting under the window on the north side of the office. One of the catchers set at his side and the other was leaning backing in a chair against the jams of the fine place at the south side. He motioned to me as I was leaning against the door check to come to him. I went he told me to go into the kitchen and bring him a pokerstick. He said he see a good one when at breakfast. I went through the door he told me to, and out on the street and looked through the office door at him.
>
> About that time the darkey made a jump backwards, the window being up. The catcher caught his leg and pressed it down over the windowsill. The darkey said "for Godsake don't break my leg." William Bullas being in the office at the time caught the catcher by back of the neck and threw him across the room. The darkey was pulled out of the window by black and white. I can see it now it was a very exciting time with me. I was 9 years old at the time and it is all fresh in my memory at this time. My father hid from the State Marshall for a time but he told Mother that the case would be tried in his absence and his property would be sold to pay the fine and costs.
>
> Andrew Hoover was sued with him but was worth nothing. Father had to pay $1,000 for the darkey and $500 cash of suit. Judge Park [sic] presided at the trial, a proslavery man. It was a hopeless case to have justice done. I have heard my father and mother say that John Charles and old Cornelius Ratliff were the best friends. They had in that day. His friends paid the costs and he paid for the slave.[18]

Comparing the accounts with the court records, it appears that Daniel's memory is more closely aligned to what actually happened that day.

A South Bend Tribune article from July 16, 1921 titled "Men Sacrificed for Principle" by C.N. Fassett[19] tells of how Thomas Bulla, found an 1888 newspaper clipping containing a story of the UGRR in which his grandfather, William Bulla, was a central figure in George Sheldon's rescue.[20] The article explains how Peter was discovered living so far from in Kentucky. According to the family story, Judge David Hoover employed a man named Raridan to read law. Raridan was from the same area of Kentucky in which Samuel Todd lived. Peter had been in the settlement for some years when Raridan recognized him and wrote to Todd in Kentucky notifying him that he had found Peter, thereby causing Peter's apprehension. After the arrest happened, Judge Hoover's father and brother-in-law helped Peter escape.[21]

After the breakout, Peter was gone. With no other recourse, Todd sued William Bulla and Andrew Hoover for the loss of property. Family tradition states that William Bulla hid for some time, but realized that the court case would go on without him and that he would lose everything if he failed to attend court. The men went to Indianapolis for trial on the first Monday of November 1825.[22] Bulla's lawyers made repeated motions to have the case thrown out of court, but the judge overruled each motion. With no witness testimony or evidence surviving, the only certainty is that Todd won both cases.[23] The judge ordered both men to pay the plaintiff to recover his own debt and costs, a total of $1,500.00.[24] Interestingly, and further proof of the connections offered by family legends, Raridan served as the attorney for the plaintiff.[25]

Little is known about the main individual in this story, Peter. Because he had changed his name at least one time, it becomes increasingly more difficult to determine what happened to him. Reports from the Hoover family state that Peter left for Canada after this event.

Thomas Bulla came from Ireland in 1738 or 1739, eventually moving to North Carolina. Throughout his life he owned several slaves and at his death freed six slaves in his will.[26] His son William was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania on April 14, 1777. In 1784, he too moved to Randolph County, North Carolina and by 1789 was married to Elizabeth Hoover. After their marriage, they moved to Lebanon, Ohio and by 1806 to Wayne County, Indiana.[27] On February 3, 1815 Bulla purchased 160 acres of land.[28] While living in Richmond, William ran a sawmill and farmed.[29] He remained in Indiana until his death in 1862.

Andrew Hoover Sr. emigrated from Germany to Pennsylvania and after marrying Margaret Fouts, moved to Maryland. Andrew Hoover Jr. was born in Maryland on September 21, 1752. In 1776, he married Elizabeth Waymire. The Hoovers moved to North Carolina in 1802 and then to Miami County, Ohio, in 1806. Family tradition states that they left North Carolina over slavery and agricultural problems resulting from the 1798 floods. By 1806 the family settled on Middle Fork of Whitewater River a mile and a half northeast of Richmond, Indiana. Their daughter Elizabeth (born December 25, 1778) married William Bulla. Andrew died in December 29, 1834, just ten years after the incident and is buried in Richmond Starr Park (north 10th street).[30] Despite being Quakers and obviously opposed to the recapture of fugitive slaves, neither William Bulla nor Andrew Hoover were members of this Newport Meeting

House, the anti-slavery Meeting House.[31]

While not involved in the incident, Frederick Hoover (William's brother-in-law and Andrew's son) demonstrates the family's opposition to slavery in a journal that he wrote.[32] The retyped account titled "Recollection of Frederick Hoover 1738-1868" is housed at Earlham College. From remarks in the text, it can be deducted that the original was written about an incident that happened in 1824.[33] Frederick writes "Finally I am an abolitionist of the Garison [sic] school and go in for the dissolution of the union, as the impracticability of liberty and slavery to dwell together harmoniously must be apparent to all..."[34] He continues in a text that is based on the Bible, discussed a way in which the "children of Ethiopia" moved from the land of Indiana:

> The Book of the journyings [sic] of the Children of Ethiopea [sic] from the land of Indiana, to the province of Upper Canada.... An it came to pass that by the 8th day of the 10th month the people were in readiness and departed from the land of Wayne, and they wept as they journied [sic] on their way, and they pitched their tents in the wilderness of Randolph as thou goest toward the brook Mississiniwa, and when the people came to the brook they murmured because of the bitterness of the water. And from the brook Mississiniwa they journied on into the wilderness as thou goest toward the city of Fort Wayne, and they encamped in the wilderness.
>
> And as the day began to dawn which was the 9th of the month, the people journied forward through the wilderness and it so fell out that the people began to murmur because there was no water in the wilderness until they came to river Wabash, and the people drank of the river and were satisfied.
>
> They then journied forward and pitched their tents by a small brook in the wilderness of Saint Marys.—On the 10th day at the sun raising the tribes were all in their places and journied forward and in the evening it came to pass that the people bought provender for their beasts of a certain man who dwelt on the border of the wilderness, and at going down of the sun, they pitched their tents by the river Saint Marys and the people drank of the water of the river. It came to pass that by the 11th day of the 10th month that the people drew near to the city of Fort Wayne, moreover people were afraid to pass through the city be cause they feared there were men of Belial there, who would evil entreat them, but the leaders encouraged the people to be of good cheer, the people therefore sent letters to the leaders of the city to confer with the chief men to know if they people might pass peaceably through their borders, moreover they said they would not turn to the right hand or to the left hand, and if they took anything form thence they would make atonement by giving pieces of silver therefore.

> The leaders therefore departed and conferred with the chief men of the city, they let the people pass through the chief street of the city after they had bought bread for themselves and provender for their beasts. They then departed and took way as one goeth down the river Maumee toward the city of Defiance, and they encamped on the river, and there the people sang praises to the Lord for his mercies in delivering them from their enemies.
>
> On the 12th day of the month the people continued journeying on through the wilderness of the river Maumee, and it came to pass that the beast of Isom whose surname is Thurman was fain with traveling...[35]

David Hoover, born in Randolph Co., N. C., April 14, 1781, married Catherine Gount, March 31, 1807; he died in 1866. His father was Andrew Hoover. He was a Quaker and County Clerk, State Senator, and Judge in Wayne County during the event. In 1834, he was elected a representative to the legislature. In 1850, he was elected a delegate to the Constitutional convention of Indiana.

The court records for the trial do not tell anything about Samuel Todd except that he was from Kentucky. In the 1820 Kentucky Census, there were four Samuel Todds living in the Kentucky counties of Campbell, Gallatin, and Shelby.[36] The Samuel Todds living in Campbell County and Shelby County did not own slaves, so the Todd involved in this case is most likely from Gallatin County, yet there are two Samuel Todds living in there.[37] Even upon further analysis of the census taker's notes, it is difficult to determine which of these men is the Todd in our case. Further research is needed to help determine more about Todd.

William Sewall V. Mark Harris, William Sewall V. John Hanna, and William Sewall V. William Logan

The next UGRR related cases involve William Sewall, Mark Harris, John Hanna, and William Logan.[38] The original State trial of this case (a writ of habeas corpus) is one of the best-known slave related cases in Indiana, being covered in articles, diary entries, and other reports.[39] The trial involved the escape of five women from William Sewall. In 1829 Sewall, a Virginian, started his move to Missouri through Indiana. While in Indianapolis, high waters delayed Sewall and his female slaves (Nelly, Mary, Jane, Susan and Clary Ann). In December 1829, the women escaped; Sewall attempted to capture the

women, but Harris, Hanna, and Logan thwarted the seizure. The women were finally brought into court on a "writ of habeas corpus." On December 29, 1829 William Logan on behalf of Nelly Richardson, Susan Richardson, Jane Richardson, Clary Ann Richardson, and Mary Green petitioned that the women were "illegally imprisoned and detained in the custody of William Sewall, W.D.J. Ungles and Archibald Linginfelter in this county, and praying a writ of Habeas Corpus…'"[40] The women were represented by the law firm of Brown & Cobern[41] with assistance from Calvin Fletcher.[42] The judge in this case determined that because Sewall had departed a slave state, the moment that they reached a free state, the women were free.

Not happy that he lost his slaves, or the monetary value that they had, Sewall sued for loss of property. Sewall sued William Logan in January 28, 1830 in a plea of debt for $500, accusing Logan of helping Nelly escape and then obstructing the recapture. Logan's attorneys argued that he thought Sewall was an emigrant through Indiana, not a citizen of Virginia, making Nelly free. A jury concurred and on May 5, 1831 they found in favor of the defendant. The charges against Logan were dismissed and the Judge ordered each man to pay his own costs.[43]

Next Sewall sued Mark Harris in the May term of 1831 for $500.00, accusing Harris of harboring and concealing his slaves. Judge Parke ordered the plaintiff to file "security for cost." When Sewall failed to comply, the charges were dropped.[44] In the case of against John Hanna, Sewall accused Hanna of helping Nelly and Jane. Judge Parke again ordered Sewall to file security for cost. When he failed to do so, these charges were also dropped.[45] More family genealogy and research into the individuals involved is needed to determine if more incidences can be uncovered and what became of the woman and their children.

Goodall Dare V. John Little, Goodall Dare V. Israel Phillips, and Goodall Dare V. James Givan

The next trial involved Goodall Dare suing various men: John Little, Israel Phillips, and James Givan.[46] Dare of Owen County, Kentucky sued all three men in a plea of debt for $1,500.00. In June 1831, Dare's slave (her name is unclear, perhaps Leas or Leah) fled Kentucky. By August 25, 1833, with his agent and attorney Joseph Roberts, they arrested her in Marion County, current day Indianapolis. Little, Phillips, and Givan were accused of using force and violence to free her and then of harboring her. Instead of being charge of any federal law, the three men, like the previous cases, were sued for loss of

property. Judge Parke ordered the plaintiff to file security costs for on the calling of the court[47] and case was continued until the next day. Eventually, the case was continued until the next term.[48] At the next term, the "...parties by their counsel and the plaintiff says he will no further prosecute this suit, therefore it is considered by the Court that the Defendant go free."[49] Like the Sewall case, more family genealogy and research into the individuals involved in this cases is needed to determine if more incidences can be uncovered and what became of the women.

The second federal District Judge was Jesse Lynch Holman (October 24, 1784 - March 18, 1842). Holman practiced law from 1806-1810, taught school in Aurora, Indiana from 1810-1835, and finally was appointed to the District Court by President Jackson on March 21, 1835. At the same time he served on the bench, he also served as minister for the Aurora Baptist Church from 1834-1842.[50] He died in 1842. He did not hear any of the Underground Railroad related cases found at the National Archives in Chicago, but this does not mean that future cases will not be discovered over which Holman presided.

The third judge was Elisha Mills Huntington (March 26, 1806 - October 26, 1862). He served as a lawyer in Cannelton, Indiana from 1827-1830 and then became the Prosecuting Attorney for the 7th circuit of Indiana from 1830-1832. He served in the Indiana House of Representatives from 1832 – 1833 and finally appointed by President Tyler for District Court Judge in 1842.[51] He heard the following cases:

United States V. Samuel Berry, Dennison A. Fox, Sullivan Clark, Baldwin Waterhouse, and Benjamin Waterhouse: The 1850 Fugitive Slave Law Indictments

In 1853 five men from northern Indiana were arrested for violating the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. The United States arrested Samuel Berry, Dennison A. Fox, Sullivan Clark, Baldwin Waterhouse, and Benjamin Waterhouse for "knowingly and willingly unlawfully harbor and conceal three male persons of color who were then and there slaves for life known." Listed only as Tom, Jim, and Alfred, these three men had escaped from Kentucky on August 13, 1853.[52] Daniel M. Payne[53] of Kentucky claimed Tom and Jim, while Mortimer W. Roberts, also of Kentucky, claimed Alfred. The case does not explain how Tom, Jim and Alfred got to Orland, but this was where they were found and arrested. The allegations against Benjamin Waterhouse, Baldwin Waterhouse, Berry, Fox, and Clark stated they harbored and concealed the fugitives, thereby preventing their discovery and arrest.[54]

Elisha Huntington presided over the cases and B.M. Thomas functioned as prosecuting attorney for the United States. The United States issued a warrant for the arrest of Sullivan Clark, Baldwin Waterhouse, Samuel Berry, and Dennison A. Fox on December 13, 1853, which was served on January 1, 1854; the judge set bail for $500 Berry, Clark, and Baldwin Waterhouse at that time.[55] While a warrant for arrest of Fox was issued on December 13, 1853 and served in January 1, 1854, a motion of B. M. Thomas, US District attorney, did not require bail. Judge Huntington continued all of the cases until May 25, 1854 and then again until November. On November 20, 1854, they came before the court. At this time the counsels for Clark, Baldwin Waterhouse and Berry moved "the court to quash each and every count in said indictment, whereupon the court being sufficiently advised sustain said motion. It is therefore considered that said Defendant as to said indictment go hence without day."[56] Because all that is recorded is the request to quash the counts, it is uncertain what evidence the lawyers offered to convince the judge of this action. On the same day, prosecuting attorney B. M. Thomas declared that he would no longer prosecute Fox because the Grand Jury determined the evidence against Fox did not warrant moving the case forward.[57]

Unlike the other men arrested at the same time, Benjamin Waterhouse, was indicted under the seventh section of the Fugitive Act of 1850.[58] The United States accused Waterhouse of harboring, concealing, aiding and abetting fugitives on September 1, 1853.[59] On June 1, 1854 a grand jury returned an indictment against Waterhouse.[60] The indicement read:

> In the district court of the United States for the district of Indiana at the May term thereof in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three:
>
> United States of American empannalled {sic} charged and sworn to enquire of offences within and for the district of Indiana upon their oath present that Benjamin B. Waterhouse late of the district aforesaid heretofore towit [sic]: on the first day of September in the year of our lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three in the district aforesaid did then and there with force and arms knowingly and willingly unlawfully harbor and conceal three male persons of color who were then and there slaves for life known respectively by the names of Tom, Jim, and Alfred and were then and there fugitives from service and labor for life which they owed and to which there were held in Kentucky a State of the United States according to the laws of said State of Kentucky, and had before that time escaped from the Said State of Ken-

> tucky into the said district and State of Indiana and the jurors further find that the owner and claimant of the said Tom and Jim was then and there Daniel M. Payne a citizen of Kentucky, and the name of the owner and claimant of the said Alfred was then and there Mortimer W Roberts also a citizen of Kentucky and that the service and labor of the said Tom and Jim were then and there die to the said Daniel W. Payne and that the service and labor of the said Alfred were then and there due to the said Mortimer W. Roberts and that the said Benjamin by said harboring and concealing did then and there prevent the discovery and arrest of said fugitives after he the said Benjamin had knowledge of the fact that the said Tom, Jim, and Alfred were fugitives from service and labor of aforesaid contrary to the form of the act of Congress in such case made and provided and against the peace and dignity of the United States of America.[61]
>
> And afterwards towit: on the ninth judicial day of the term aforesaid of the court last herein aforesaid in the year last aforesaid some B.M. Thomas Esq council for the United States and the defendant in his own proper person comes also; there thereupon comes a jury towit...twelve good and lawful men and sworn of the district of Indiana who being empanelled tried and sworn well and truly to try the issue joined between the parties and a true verdict give according to the evidence, after hearing a portion of the evidence by consent of parties and leave of the court separate until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock. ...An afterwards towit: on the fourteenth judicial day of the term last aforesaid of the court aforesaid began and holden as aforesaid in the year last aforesaid comes B.M. Thomas Esq prosecuting the pleas of the United States and the defendant in his own proper person comes also, and there upon comes the jury aforesaid and bring into court the following verdict with recommendation to mercy towit:
>
> We the jury find the defendant guilty as charged in the third county of the Indictment." And thereupon said Benjamin B Waterhouse on being asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him according to law says nothing. Thereupon it is the judgment of the court that said Benjamin B. Waterhouse be confined for the space of one hour and that he pay a fine of fifty dollars. And the marshal is charged with the execution other judgment of the court[62]

Records that do still exist related to the Waterhouse case shows that nine witnesses testified in the case.[63] Again, because the court records are incomplete, it is uncertain what evidence was put forth against Waterhouse. Unfortunately too, the newspapers housed in both the Lagrange County Library and the Indiana State Library from this time period are damaged. What is clear from the court records is that on November 14, 1854 the jury found Benjamin Waterhouse guilty on the third count of the indictment.[64] Judge Huntington immediately passed judgment and gave Waterhouse one hour in jail and a $50.00 fine.

In the United States District Court for the District of Indiana

The United States vs. Benj. B. Waterhouse } Indictment for harboring, concealing aiding and abetting fugitives from labor & service under the act of Congress of September 1850 regarding fugitives from labor

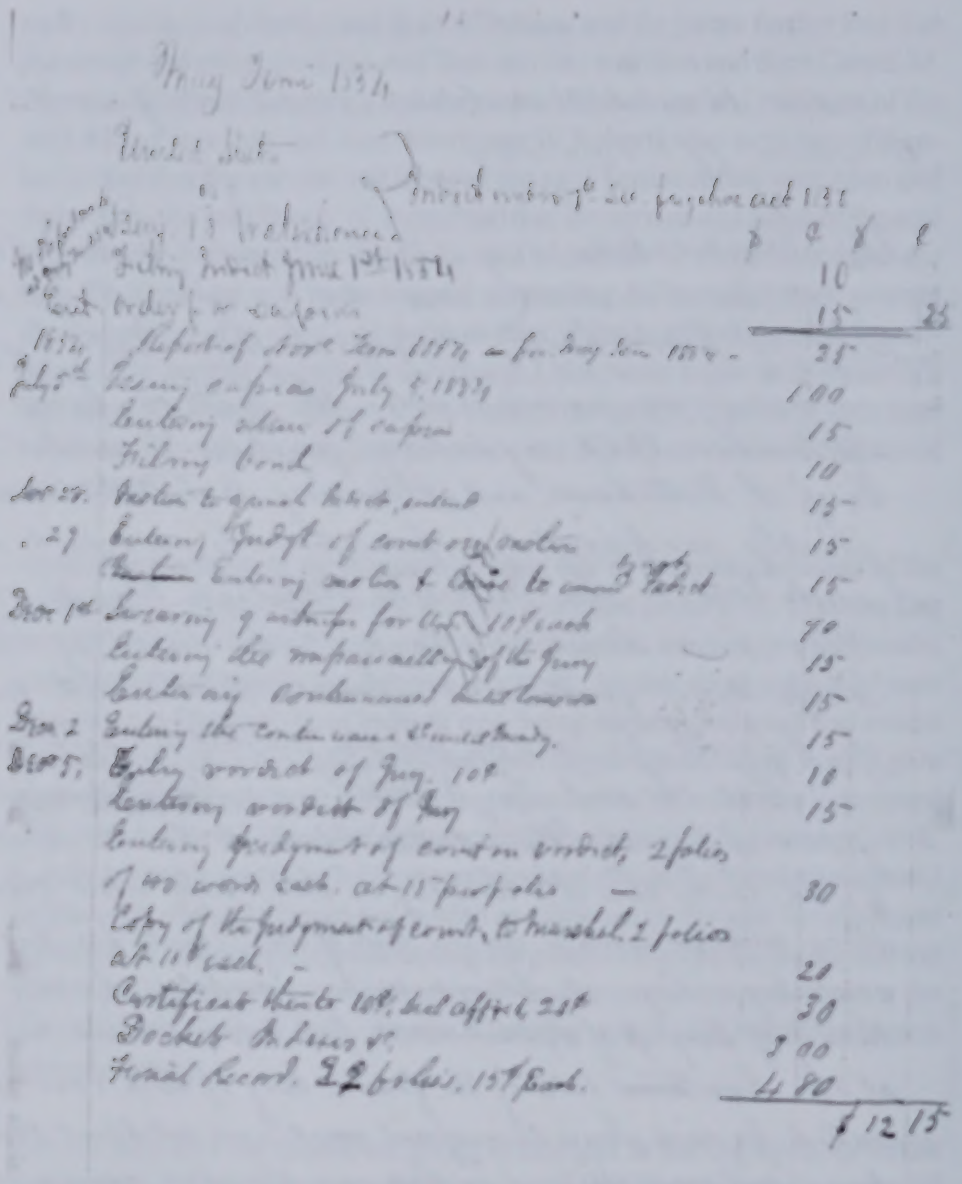
Benj. B. Waterhouse and Chauncey G. R. Waterhouse jointly acknowledge themselves to owe and be indebted to the United States in the sum of Five hundred dollars, to be levied of their respective goods and chattels lands and tenements if default be made in the conditions following time

That the said Benj B. Waterhouse shall be and appear before the United States District Court for the Dist. of Ind. on the third Monday in Nov. next and then and there answer unto a certain Bill of Indictment for harboring, concealing, aiding and abetting &c. fugitives from labor and service &c. under the act of Congress of September 1850 found against said Benj B. Waterh. at the June term 1854 by the Grand Jury of said court empannelled for said June term of said court and not depart thence without leave of said court then and in that case the above recognisance to be void and of none effect, otherwise to remain in full force in virtue in Law, sealed with our seals and signed with our hands this day of 28th October A.D. 1854

approved by me this 28th day of October A.D. 1854 } Benjamin B. Waterhouse Seal
Chauncey G. R. Waterhouse Seal

Madison Marsh W S Fifty
Marshal for John L. Robinson

Indictment against Benjamin Waterhouse, filed in Federal Court 1854. Court Records, USSDC - Indiana-SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1 1854-1861 at the Nationla Archives, Chicago.



Court expenses related to the prosecution of Benjamin Waterhouse. Ledger Book for May Term 1854. Us District Court, Soutehr District of Indiana housed at the National Archives, Chicago.

Several contemporary antislavery newspapers offer information about the case. In The Bugle a letter offers a small detail about Benjamin Waterhouse and the others in Orland. In April 1854, R.C. Stewart of Fremont, Indiana wrote "there are many true and noble hearted friends of the slave here who feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give aid and comfort to the fugitive."[65] Through the letters in the The Bugle and The Standard we know that the arrests did not stop those in northern Indiana from doing their work. Eliza Morgan McGowan wrote a letter in November 1854 stating that "I with to inform you of the number of passengers gone through within the last three weeks in two separate gangs. In the first there

were seventeen, men, women, children, in the last there were five, three men and two boys."[66] She also wrote that Waterhouse had been charged with carrying two fugitive slaves in his wagon to Orland, Steuben County, and then to a relative's in Kinderhook, Michigan had been successfully defended in court.[67] While Waterhouse was found guilty, perhaps the hour jail sentence and small fine was seen as a victory.

By examining forty-nine years of court cases (1816-1864) only thirteen cases could be found related to slavery and abolition. According to research being conducted in Indiana, historians have found hundreds of Hoosiers claiming to have participated in the UGRR; yet only thirteen cases can be found. Were the people of Indiana that skilled at circuitous activity so that they were never caught? Or were the law officials in Indiana not arresting and prosecuting? Were there really that many people participating in the movement? One might claim that Hoosiers were too respectful of the law to break it, no matter how horrific it was. But at the same time, passing counterfeit coins and stealing letters from the post office were popular laws to break. During the Civil War, Hoosiers were convicted of having material belonging to the government or of harboring dissenters. In fact during the four years of the Civil War more Hoosiers were convicted of harboring dissenters than arrested for harboring slaves in the time from 1816 - 1865.[68] Even more Hoosiers were prosecuted for obstructing the draft.[69] Still hundreds of other cases of involved libel of information, debt on post master bond, and counterfeiting coins.[70] Jurisprudence of this time period had people suing in State Circuit Courts, where records would be found, if still extant in courthouses and historical societies. This is evident in the Sewall case; were it not for Sewall filing a plea of debt, it would never have been seen in federal court. For this reason, additional research is needed to better understand what Hoosiers were doing to aid those enslaved African Americans traveling across Indiana. This additional research might well offer a number of cases involving Hoosiers and shed light into the topic.

ENDNOTES

[1] Glenn Longacre and Nancy Malan, Guide to Records in the National Archives – Great Lakes Region, (National Archives and Records Administration: Chicago, 1996), 7.
[2] The Evansville's district court did not start until 1928; Southern District of New Albany Division records start in 1898; Evansville Circuit Court began in 1868; and the Terre Haute Division started in 1925.
[3] Charles H. Money, "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 in Indiana," Indiana Magazine of History, June 1921, volume XVII, Number 2, 159.
[4] *Ibid*, 159.
[5] William Smith. Interview by Jeannie Regan-Dinius, September 17, 2004.
[6] Money, "The Fugitive Slave Law," 160.
[7] Ibid., 161.
[8] Smith interview.
[9] Bicentennial Committee of Judicial Conference of the United States, Judges of the United States Second Edition, (Washington DC: US Government Printing, 1983), 381.
[10] Peter Wonders, Directory of Manuscript Collections Related to Federal Judges, 1789-1997, (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing, 1998), 151.
[11] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1819-1829, US District Court Record Book Volume 1, 1819-1829, Indianapolis, 318, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[12] *Ibid*., 318 - 320.
[13] Ronald Ver Jackson, Gary Ronald Teeples, and David Schaefermeyet eds., Indiana 1820 Census Index, (Bountiful, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1976).
[14] Cabin Creek was settled in 1825. The Greenville settlement was established in 1822 in Randolph County, Indiana and Darke and Preble Counties in Ohio. Snow Hill was established after 1838. Deborah L. Rotman, Rachel Mancini, Aaron Smith, et al, African-American and Quaker Farmers in East Central Indiana: Social, Political, and Economic Aspects of Life in nineteenth-Century Rural Communities Randolph County, Indiana, (Muncie, Indiana: Archaeological Resources Management Service, 1998).
[15] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1819-1829, US District Court Record Book Volume 1, 1819-1829, 318 – 320, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[16] Untitled and undated newspaper article, Earlhman College – Friends Collection and College Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63.
[17] Hulda Hoover McLean, A Family in History: Stories of the Hoover Family, (Rancho del Oso, CA: Self-published, 1971), 47. The story that McLean retells in her 1971 book comes from a 1942 newspaper article. "Quakers Opposed to Slavery Once Became Owners of Slave," The Palladium-Item and Sun-Telegram, 2 February 1941, p. 12, col. 2.
[18] Daniel Bulla, "The History of an Old Pioneer," May 22, 1896. Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63.
[19] "Men Sacrificed for Principle," South Bend Tribune, 16 July 1921, . Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63.
[20] The court records list George's last name as Stellow, but the newspaper renditions of the incident have called him both Shelton and Sheldon.
[21] "Men Sacrificed for Principle," South Bend Tribune, 16 July 1921, Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives Earlhman Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63.
[22] Bulla, The History of an Old Pioneer.
[23] Minute Book, Mixed Cases 1821-1839 #2, no page numbers, Saturday, November 12, 1825, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] History of Wayne County, Indiana: together with Sketches of its cities, villages, and towns, educational, religious, civil, military and political history, portraits of prominent persons, and biographies of representative citizens. Volume II, (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing 1884), 770; McLean, "A Family in History,"47.
[26] History of Wayne County, Indiana, 768.
[27] Bulla, The History of an Old Pioneer.
[28] Arnold L. Dean, First Land Entry Book of Wayne County, Indiana, (Richmond, Indiana: Self-published, 1994); Vern Jackson, Census Index; "Land Purchase Receipt," Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives Earlhman Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63, Business Papers, 1810-1872 file folder.

[29] Robert A. Gennings, Ralph L. Bulla and Juanita J. Kesler, The Bulla Family, (Sequim, West Virginia: Self-Published, 1982), 45, Earlhman Archives, Bulla Family Papers, FMS 63, Account Book file folder.
[30] Richmond Palladium and Sun-Telegram, Monday, May 28, 192(8?), . Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives , Bulla Family Records, Clippings file; Hulda Hoover McLean, Genealogy of One Branch of the Hoover Family: Part II. Some descendants of Andrew Hoover, (Rancho del Oso, CA: Self-Published, 1959), 5; "30 Lost Graves Found by State Highway Crews," Indianapolis News, March 14, 1952, p12, column 3; "The Newman and Hoover Family History." http://www.geocities.com/gordon_b_kingman/chapter11.html [accessed June 3, 2004]; "Jonas Hoover family history." http://www.cwis.net/~andrew/famtree/hugueley/d0/i0000221.htm [accessed June 3, 2004]; "Andrew Hoover Descendents" http://jerry.vigo.lib.in.us/revoluti/wayne.htm [accessed June 3, 2004]; http://www.stanford.edu/~melbar/BARNETT/WC01/WC01_090.HTM [accessed June 3, 2004]; Vern Jackson, Indiana 1820 Census Index.
[31] Willard Heiss, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy Volume VII Abstracts of the Record of the Society of Friends in Indiana, Part I and Part II, (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society 1962), 102-106.
[32] McLean, Genealogy of One Branch of the Hoover Family, 5.
[33] Frederick Hoover, Recollection of Frederick Hoover 1738-1868, Typed unpublished work housed at . Earlhman College, Friends Collection and College Archives, Frederick Hoover Collection, SC 182.
[34] *Ibid.*, 12.
[35] The incident recited in the recollection needs further evaluation to determine the exact dates and individuals involved. *Ibid.*
[36] Ronald Vern Jackson, Gary Ronald Teeples, and David Schaefermeyer, Kentucky 1820 Census Index. (Bountiful, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, Inc., 1976), alphabetical under Todd.
[37] Kentucky 1820 Census. Campbell County, 20.; Roll 24 Volume 9; Kentucky 1820 Census, Shelby County, 122 Roll 20 Volume 5.
[38] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1829-1844, US District Court Record Book Volume 2, 1829-1844, Undianapolis, May term 1831: 60, 68, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[39] Jacob Piatt Dun, History of Greater Indianapolis, (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1910), 239 -240; "Nell, Et al VS Sewall," Indiana Journal, 30 December 1829, p. 3, col 2-5.
[40] The women claimed they were never slaves of Sewall and he had illegally detained them *Ibid.*
[41] Gayle Thronbrough, ed., The Diary of Calvin Fletcher, Volume 1: 1817-1838, *(Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 167); Dunn, History of Greater Indianapolis*, 239.
[42] Calvin Fletcher is one of the most notable attorneys in Indianapolis during this time period.
[43] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1829-1844, US District Court Record Book Volume 2, 1829-1844, Indianapolis, Thursday, May 5, 1831, 69 National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; Minute Book, Mixed Cases 1821-1839 #2, No page numbers, May Term, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[44]Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1829-1844, US District Court Record Book Volume 2, 1829-1844, Indianapolis May term 1831, 60, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[45]*Ibid.*, 68.
[46] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1829-1844, US District Court Record Book Volume 2, 1829-1844, May 20, 1834, 219, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; The court records do not state what county Dare was from, but "Owen County Marriages" www.rootsweb.com/~kyowen2/omar1840.html [accessed June 2, 2004] shows that Artimecy Dare married Joseph Roberts. She had a letter of consent from her father Goodall Dare; I am assuming this is the same person. Note also that Goodall Dare's attorney and agent was Joseph Roberts. Also, there is no other Goodall Dare in Kentucky Census records for the 1830s.
[47] District Court Indianapolis, Order Book #1, 1832-1853, November 28, 1833, 40, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[48] *Ibid*, 44.
[49] Complete Records of Mixed Cases 1829-1844, US District Court Record Book Volume 2, 1829-1844, Indianapolis, May term 1834, 227, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; District Court Indianapolis, Order Book #1, 1832-1853, November 28, 1833 - November 29, 1833, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[50] Bicentennial Committee, Judges of the United States, 227; District Court, Indianapolis Order Book #1, 1832-1853, 99, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[51] *Ibid.*, 241.
[52] Court Records, USDC – Indiana – SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1, 1854 – 1861, 24-25, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.
[53] In The Liberator, an 1853 article discussed a slaveholder who had gone to Canada under false pretence of purchasing land or wanting to see certain people who had escaped from him to give them money or free papers if they would

go to Detroit. He offered money to anyone who could get the fugitive to get on the ferryboat, but was stopped by other fugitives who gave him about 100 lashes with a large bullwhip. The article names him as Daniel C. Payne of Lexington Kentucky.

[54] Court Records, USDC – Indiana – SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1 1854 – 1861, 19, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[55] *Ibid*., 1-2, 7, 9, and 13.

[56] *Ibid*., 2-3, 8, 10; USDC – Indiana – SD, Record Book, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1, 1854 – 1861, 7, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[57] Court Records, USDC – Indiana – SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1 1854 – 1861, 14, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; USDC, Indianapolis, General Records – Mixed Case Files, 1839 – 1913, Box November 1853 – May 1854, File folder November 1853, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; United States vs. Denison A. Fox, "A true bill", filed December 3, 1853, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[58] Court Records, USDC – Indiana – SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1 1854 – 1861, 19, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois; USDC – Indiana – SD, Record Book, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1, 1854 – 1861, 19, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[59] USDC, Indianapolis, General Records – Mixed Case Files, 1839 – 1913, Box 1852 – May 1853.
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[60] USDC, Indianapolis, General Records – Mixed Case Files, 1839 – 1913, Box 1852 – May 1853
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[62] USDC – Indiana – SD, Record Book, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1, 1854 – 1861, 19-26, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[63] Ledger Book for May Term 1854. US. District Court, Southern District of Indiana, Indianapolis. Division, Clerk's Records, Clerk's Fee Book, 1853-1863, 13, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[64] Court Records, USDC – Indiana – SD, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #1 1854 – 1861, 27, National Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[65] Peggy Seigel, "Conspiracy Theories and Harder Facts: Newspapers as Sources for the Underground Railroad in Northeastern Indiana, " Presented at the Second Annual Underground Railroad Summit August 10, 2002, 16. Copy available at the Department of Natural Resources – Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

[66] Eliza McGoween's husband Samuel was identified by Siebert as an UGRR agent in Steuben County, so her account may well be first hand. *Ibid*.,17.

[67] *Ibid*.,11.

[68] From 1861-1865 there were at least 10 cases of Hoosiers being arrested and charged with harboring dissenters. SDC – INDIANA –SD, Record Book, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #5 1864 – 1866, 1 - 77.

[69] From 1861-1865 there were 20 cases of each. USDC – INDIANA –SD, Record Book, U.S. Government Cases, Volume #3 1861 – 1864, 1-195.

[70] USDC – Indianapolis, General Records, Order Books, Mixed Cases, 1832 – 1938, Volume 3, 1860- 1863.

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GATEWAY TO FREEDOM:
NEW ALBANY-FLOYD COUNTY, INDIANA

By Pam Peters

It has now been three years since my book, The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana, was published. That work was a culmination of the research in which I discovered that Floyd County, Indiana, and its river port, New Albany, served as a "gateway" for hundreds of slaves who had escaped from Kentucky and farther south. These fugitives went from metropolitan Louisville across the Ohio River into Southern Indiana at Floyd and Clark Counties. Many used the ferries, but other craft were also employed. Others swam, waded across on sandbars, or walked across on the ice when the Ohio River froze. Runaway slaves used this area as a springboard to freedom not only because of the ferries located at this juncture, but also because of the substantial free Black communities in Louisville (Kentucky), New Albany (Floyd County, Indiana), and Jeffersonville (Clark County, Indiana) that aided them in their escape. Chapter 8 of my first book was entitled "Key Individuals."[1] In it, I included a section on Henson McIntosh (alias Fremont). McIntosh, an African American, lived in New Albany and was arrested and sentenced to five years in the Frankfort, Kentucky prison for assisting slaves on July 3, 1859, to escape from Kentucky. As the section on McIntosh concluded, I stated that "His arrest for helping slaves leave Kentucky and cross the river into Indiana is also a signal for us that there were others in the immediate area who helped slaves escape and who may have been part of that system. Who were these people and where did the money come from to carry out this scheme?"[2]

After my book was published, I continued studying the antebellum, African American community in Floyd County. I knew that this was the key to finding out more information about how slaves "entered the gate" onto Indiana soil. My intent with the present document is to communicate some of the information that has continued to surface since my first book. This piece works in conjunctions with The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana and while crucial information may coincide between the two, a review of my previous work may serve to be beneficial. Slaves fought against bondage in other ways besides running away. They resisted by feigning illness, deliberately inflicting injury on themselves (and sometimes going as far as committing suicide), by rising up against owners, or by destroying property. Section four of this paper will deal with a legal means of fighting bondage and gaining freedom. "Entering the Gate Through the Court System," is about friends or family members of the enslaved purchasing a slave in order to set the person free.

I am indebted to Pen Bogert of the Filson Historical Society for his research. His discoveries indicate the involvement of members of the African American communities of the Jefferson County, Kentucky and Floyd County, Indiana, African American communities in assisting runaway slaves in their quest for freedom. I also thank the Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology for their willingness to support this document.

Introduction:
Entry Through The Gate

If you were play a game of word association, how would you respond to the words "Underground Railroad?" Would you think of tunnels, secret hiding places, or hidden staircases? Actually, none of the above explains the UGRR in the borderland region between Louisville, Kentucky, and New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana. After extensive research and a better understanding of the history in this area, some of the words or phrases that should come to my mind now are African American population concentration, urban slavery, blending in with existing Blacks, natural features of the river valley, river transportation, and political extremes. This area acted as a magnet for slaves attempting to run away from bondage. Because of its position along the border of a slave state and its geographical closeness to Louisville, Floyd County was often painted as a "southern community." The southern attitudes of New Albany were strengthened by the fact that during the antebellum years its major industry, that of ship-building, had business ties to the South. Pro-slavery and anti-black attitudes were prevalent in this border region. Even though the Indiana state constitution prohibited slavery, there is evidence of some slave ownership in Floyd County:

> Because Floyd County was situated on the border of a slave state, it was not unusual for this community to number slaves in the population .... A search of the Floyd County newspapers and court records shows several incidents of slavery in Floyd County. In 1811 John Oatman, whose family ran the ferry below New Albany from 1805 to 1811, paid a tax of $1.00 on one slave. Even in 1860 it was reported by the local newspaper that the slave of Jacob L. Smyser of the State Street Mill in New Albany was killed by a slave of Mr. Tinsely. The last will and testament of George Wheeler of Floyd County, signed February 6, 1828, states that "Negro Harry" was to be passed down to George's wife, Mary, and that she was to give him his freedom. In her will, Mary Rice of Floyd County instructed her heirs to sell "her negroes" at public auction. Ann Kirkwood, a resident of Floyd County, left to her husband, William Kirkwood, "My negro boy Richard now hired to Dr. Miller of Oldham County, Kentucky."[3]

Slave owners from Kentucky often moved across the river into Southern Indiana, and retained their slaves. Ann Kirkwood, of Floyd County stated in her will that her slave, Richard, was hired out to Dr. Miller of Oldham County, Kentucky. The hiding of slaves back and forth from free state to slave state, as in the aforementioned case, was not an uncommon practice. Not only did Indiana slave owners "hire out" their slaves to residents of Kentucky, but Louisville owners were also in the habit of sending their slaves across the river into New Albany on business. In this way, some slaves were able to effect their freedom by running away.[4] Louisville's active slave market was situated downtown and fairly close to the river. Because it was an active river port, it was convenient to access the slave markets in the deep-south where the cotton market was demanding more and more slave labor. Additionally, in 1849 the Louisville slave trade was increased because of the repealing of a Kentucky state law that had previously prohibited additional slaves being brought into the state. Therefore, by the time the federal Fugitive Slave Law was passed in 1850, the slave trade in Kentucky flourished.[5]

Slave-holding and the slave trade continued in Kentucky until late in 1865. Because Kentucky was a Union state, the Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863, did not abolish slavery there. The Emancipation Proclamation only affected slaves in the states that had rebelled against the Union. Slavery in Kentucky was not abolished until December 18, 1865 when twenty-seven of the thirty-six states ratified the 13th Amendment. The Underground Railroad, therefore, continued to operate in the Floyd County area after the Civil War ended in April, 1865. The state-sanctioned Exclusion Act in Indiana, which was in effect until 1866,

Historic map of Floyd County.

also meant that those willing to risk giving assistance had to do so quietly.[6] One could even say that for all practical purposes, work on the UGRR spilled over into the years following the Civil War.

Slavery in an urban setting such as that of Louisville, was different from slavery as it was found in a rural setting. For example, slaves in Louisville were not confined to their owner's house, yard or place of business. They were able to move about and, as has already been mentioned, were often hired out to labor for others. This ability of slaves to move around from place to place was a cause for concern to owners who were not always able to monitor their activities. This lack of control allowed runaway slaves and free African Americans who came into Louisville to make contact with the enslaved. White owners lived in fear that their slaves would be "enticed" to runaway, and therefore, resented the presence of free Blacks in Louisville.

Life for free Blacks on both sides of the Ohio River was difficult. It was generally assumed that all those with black skin were slaves, unless already known and recognized as a part of the local community. Free Blacks in Kentucky and Indiana were subject to being kidnapped and sold into slavery. It was necessary for them to carry their "free papers" at all times to avoid being picked up as runaways. For example, the New Albany Daily Ledger published the following warning:

> Kidnapping. We learn that recently a pretty extensive business is being done by certain parties in Kentucky and Indiana, in the way of kidnapping free negroes and contrabands and carrying them into Kentucky for sale. Two or three free negroes have lately been thus kidnapped from this vicinity [New Albany-Floyd County], and, we are informed, taken into Kentucky and sold into slavery. We hear, also, that a large number of contrabands, gathered up at Cairo and other points, have been transported through this state, contrary to all law under pretext that they were property of loyal Missouri owners who feared an emancipation law in that state and were taken into Kentucky and sold again into slavery. It is bad enough to steal a negro slave; but it is infinitely more outrageous to kidnap men born free, and those who [sic] by due process of law, and sell them into slavery. The authorities of Indiana should at once look into this matter, and see that laws of the state are no longer violated by the outrageous proceedings of these kidnappers. Some of the gang are said to be residents of this city, others reside at Louisville, Owensboro, and other towns in Kentucky and Indiana. The matter demands immediate investigation.[7]

Additionally, the anti-Black bias found expression in both state and federal laws. The Federal Fugitive Slave Law and the Indiana State Exclusion Act have already been mentioned.[8] In addition, Indiana State laws required free Blacks to register with county authorities and pay a $500.00 bond to assure

they would not became a ward of the court. Additional state laws allowed only certain occupations to be open to people of color; local restrictions forced individuals to live in designated areas of town. Despite these difficulties, African Americans on both sides of the Ohio River continued giving assistance to slaves seeking freedom.

It was not until 1795 that slaves from the upper south and the Louisville, Kentucky, area had a place to run outside the United States. In that year, Canada formally prohibited slavery. A record of slaves running away from owners and crossing the at the Falls of the Ohio began to emerge as Southern Indiana was being settled in the early 1800s. With the settlement of this area came Blacks--both slave and free. John Brown of Louisville mentioned in his March 4, 1822 diary entry that a tavern keeper in Portland, Kentucky (now a part of Louisville), complained of the existing discord between Indiana and Kentucky "on account of slaves who had escaped to the former and were protected by them."[9] This "crossing over" the Ohio River was very risky for runaway slaves. If caught, they were faced with certain punishment — perhaps even death -- for daring to deny their owners of property rights. If runaway slaves reached Floyd County, they quickly discovered that the border region was not safe, and they would need to continue to journey farther north.

A major piece of the UGRR workings in the Louisville/New Albany region was the relationship of the Black communities living on either side of the Ohio River. They worked together, forming alliances, in order to assist the enslaved in their escape to freedom. Though they were separated by state boundaries as well as the river, they were, for all practical purposes, neighbors. For example, Indiana farmers, many of them African American, carried produce to market in downtown Louisville and returned with other commodities. The various ferries carried hundreds of people back and forth between Louisville and the Indiana towns of Jeffersonville, Clarksville and New Albany on a daily basis. Free African Americans and slaves from both communities were drawn to each other because they were often related. Advertisements for runaway slaves sometimes mentioned, in fact, the owner's suspicion that the runaway would attempt to reach family living north of the Ohio River.[10]

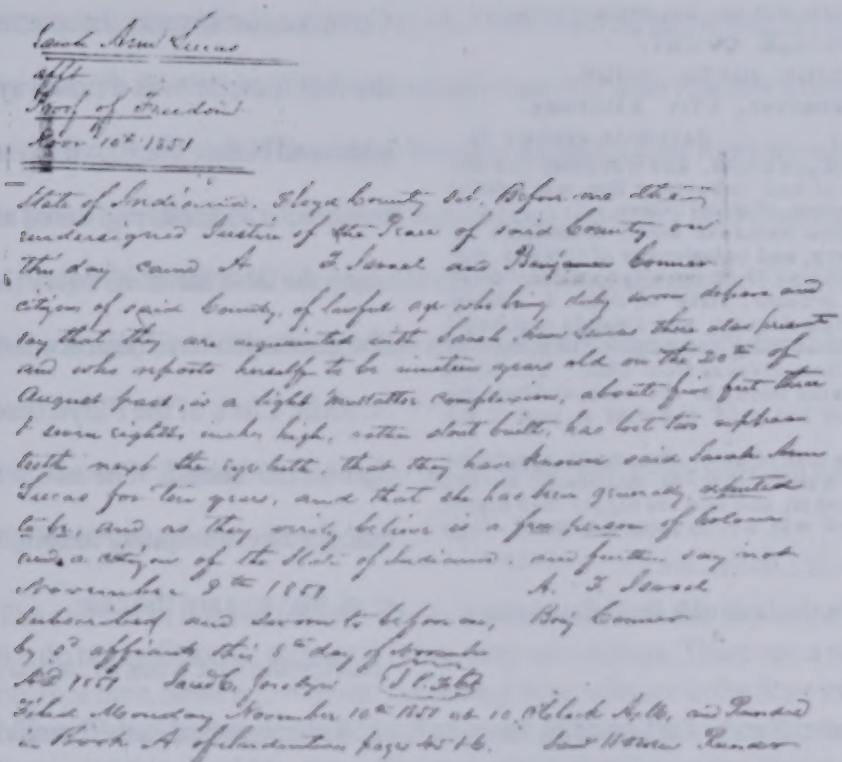
Henson McIntosh (alias Fremont), who was arrested and sentenced to the Frankfort Penitentiary for assisting slaves to escape from Kentucky,[11] signaled that there were others in the Floyd County area who helped slaves escape. In the book The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana I posed the

following question, "Who were these people and where did the money come from to carry out this scheme?" Sections two and three below tell of three additional African American residents of New Albany who attempted to assist slaves to obtain freedom and who were arrested for their actions. These stories are valuable because, through the arrest records, we are given additional information about how the UGRR functioned. The written record also gives us further indication of how much the Black community was actively involved in helping slaves seek freedom.

Section Two
Sarah Ann Lucas, Amanda – A Slave, And Mr. and Mrs. Israel

It has become increasingly clear that the free Black community in Louisville and New Albany assisted slaves who wanted to cross the Ohio River in search of freedom. African Americans, as a whole, helped runaway slaves in a passive way by "looking the other way." By not turning them in and by helping them to blend in until a safe way was found for them to move further north. For example, during the Civil War, the local newspaper chided, but did not name, a homeowner in West Union[12] for harboring runaway slaves and free Blacks who were breaking the State Exclusion Act. "The keeper of the house should be taught a lesson which would make him more careful in the future how he violates the laws."[13] However, arrest records, police reports, and court documents give names and considerable details to help us understand the greater workings of the UGRR. Sarah Ann Lucas is a case in point.

Sarah, born a free woman of color in Ohio, moved to Floyd County, Indiana in the 1830s or early 1840s. Evidence shows that Sarah kept two addresses--one in New Albany and also one in Louisville.[14] On October 8, 1851, Sarah stood before justice of the Peace Jared C. Jocelyn and Samuel H. Owen, the Floyd County Recorder, to apply for her "Proof of Freedom." Owen described her as being of light complexion and rather short and stout with two upper front teeth next to her eyeteeth missing.[15] A Unitarian named Andrew Israel and Benjamin Conner from a well-known Presbyterian family stood up with her and testified on her behalf. Both men swore they had known Sarah for ten years and that "she had been



Sara Lucas' "Freedom Papers."

generally reputed to be, and as they verily believe is a free person of colour and a citizen of the State of Indiana."[16] The Israels employed Blacks as well as Irish and German immigrants as servants at the boarding house, so Sarah may have worked for them.[17]

In August 1853, Sarah again went before the Floyd County Clerk as required by the State law that obligated all Black residents to be registered. Now she had gone through both processes--approaching the authorities to get her Proof of Freedom paper as well as registering as a Floyd County resident. This meant that Judge Jocelyn, as well as the county clerk, knew her. More importantly, she knew them, "the ropes," and how to use the system.[18]

Toward the end of 1853, Sarah assisted Amanda, a "yellow" woman who was a slave of Benjamin J. Adams, to cross the Ohio River into New Albany. How they crossed the river remains a mystery. If they used the ferry, Sarah could have shown her "free papers" to the ferry operator. She may have convinced him that Amanda was free as well. Because Sarah could read and write, she may have been capable of falsifying free papers for Amanda whose light complexion was also in her favor. After they arrived in New Albany, Sarah continued to give Amanda assistance by helping her through the bureaucracy of the Floyd

[Reported expressly for the Louisville Courier.]

POLICE COURT.

HON. JOHN JOYES, JUDGE.

J. B. Lancaster, City Attorney.

SATURDAY, January 7.

NANCY GREEN had got drunk, and was noisy and disorderly, and guilty of bad behavior. She was held to bail a month in the sum of $100. Cave.

SARAH LUCAS, a free woman of color, sometime a resident of New Albany, and occasionally of this city, was arraigned on the charge of attempting to entice away Amanda, a yellow woman, slave of Ben. J. Adams. They had been to New Albany, and Amanda registered her name over there as Mary Jackson, at the clerk's office, representing themselves as from Ohio. The court concluded to waive the felony in the case, and held Sarah Lucas to bail for her good behavior a year in the sum of $600.

SAM ABLE, a free man of color, was up on the charge of enticing Peter, a slave of R. G. Anderson, to run away. Sam denied it, and said the nigger was drunk, and he knew it, and was a little popped himself. Case dismissed.

Louisville Daily Courier, 1/9/1854

Arrest information in the Louisville Daily Courier in 1854.

County court system. In an attempt to cover up the fact that she was a runaway slave, Amanda appeared before the Floyd County clerk on December 2,1853, and registered as a "free person" using the false name of "Mary (Missy) Jackson." She claimed to have been born in Ohio. Mr. Isaac N. Akin, Clerk of the Floyd Circuit Court, testified on her behalf. The two women may have thought they were safely "through the gate." However, that was not the case.

During the first week of January, 1854, the Louisville police arrested Sarah. On Saturday, January 7, 1854 she appeared in the Louisville Police Court before the honorable Judge John Joyes, and was arraigned on the charge under the Kentucky State law "enticing slaves." For unknown reasons, not stated in the court records, rather than committing Sarah Lucas to jail, Judge Joyes waived the felony charge and held Sarah to bail in the sum of $600.00, contingent upon good behavior for a year.[19] It is not known what happened to Amanda. Usually when caught, a runaway slave was sent to jail to await their owner. If the owner did not retrieve the property in a timely fashion, the slave was often sold in Louisville, generally to the southern cotton slave market. No evidence reveals Amanda as being sold.

As was mentioned above, Andrew F. Israel was one of two people who testified on Sarah's behalf when she applied for her Freedom Paper. It is helpful in understanding the series of events to know who Mr. Israel was. Andrew F. and Mary Israel arrived in New Albany from Ohio in the early 1830s. Andrew, born in Kentucky, was a shoemaker. Mary, a Virginian by birth, assisted him by binding and lining the boots and shoes he made. She also

Israel business in New Albany as it looks today. Photo courtesy of Pam Peters.

ran the New Albany boarding house and hotel at 142 West Main Street, which the Israels operated over a period of forty years.[20] The business grew so rapidly that ever after Andrew's death on November 4, 1855, Mary was able to build an addition to her house to accommodate more travelers.

The six years after Sarah's arrest, were tumultuous times in Floyd County. Several race riots occurred in the early 1860s. "Racial tension continued to mount during the Civil War as Union troops moved through the South, liberating slaves, more and more of them crossing state lines to reach the north side of the Ohio River."[21]

On July 22, 1862, the *New Albany Daily Ledger* reported that two white men had been shot at the hands of "Negroes." The newspaper went on to say:

> The number of colored persons whose lawful home is in this city is not large, and we do not believe, as a general thing, they are vicious. There are a number of negroes here, however,--who do not belong here; who are in the State in violation of law. These can be removed peaceably and effectually, without a resort to violence, and this should be done. The man who killed Locke and shot at Lansford, we doubt not, will be arrested and punished. But, even in a moment of just resentment, and when the whole community is justly incensed at the atrocious murder, let us sincerely hope the innocent will not be punished for the deeds of the guilty.[22]

The newspaper's warning went unheeded and crowds of men and young boys began to move through New Albany in search of Blacks. They captured and beat two African American men on Market Street. Two more men were attacked with stones and clubs near Lower Second, one of them beaten to death. A Black gentleman, who resided with the Israels, was attacked by the mob, escaping from them and taking refuge in the Israel House. The mob pursued him to the door but Mary Israel barricaded the doors and refused to admit the crowd.[23] Later, during the Civil War, an arsonist, who unsuccessfully attempted to burn it down, singled out the Israel House. During the war rebels or southern sympathizers for political retaliation often set certain buildings on fire.[24] Mary Israel died on September 5, 1871. Both Andrew and Mary Israel are buried in Fairview Cemetery in New Albany.

One is tempted to speculate that Sarah Ann Lucas helped other slaves besides Amanda to cross the Ohio River from Louisville. It is also speculative to think that the Israels were involved in assisting runaway slaves. However, those possibilities are potential pieces to the UGRR puzzle that should not be

lost. When Sarah went before Judge Jared Jocelyn on October 8, 1851, to receive her freedom papers, she may have had an ulterior motive. If her efforts with the UGRR were taking her across the river to Louisville on a regular basis, she needed that paper to show the ferry operator that she was free. We may never know why Sarah kept an address in Louisville as well as New Albany, but we do know for certain, however, that both Sarah and Amanda acted out of a strong conviction in the face of grave consequences. There were others from New Albany who acted on their convictions and were arrested for assisting slaves. We turn now to consider Moses Bard, Shadrach Henderson and James Cunningham.

Section Three
Shadrach Henderson, Moses Bard (alias Hurst) And James Cunningham

The arrest of Shadrach Henderson and Moses Bard (alias Hurst) offers additional proof of the connection in UGRR activity between the free Blacks in New Albany and those in Louisville. At the present time we know of these men who were involved in this conspiracy to help slaves reach freedom: James Cunningham, a musician and leader in the Black community in Louisville;[25] Moses Bard, a New Albany barber who lived with barber George Washington Carter;[26] and Shadrach Henderson, a boatman from New Albany who was implicated by James Cunningham as a third person involved in their plot.

JEFFERSON CIRCUIT COURT—CRIMINAL TERM.
Hon. W. F. Bullock, presiding; E. S. Craig, Prosecuting Attorney.

FRIDAY, Dec. 12.

Martin Hickey, charged with the murder of a man named Bell, near Jackson, Owsley, & Co.'s port-house. The jury were out until about noon yesterday but could not agree and were discharged. It is said that the jury stood 7 for acquittal and 5 for sending him to the penitentiary. The prisoner was remanded back to jail.

Com'th vs. Georgiana (f. w. c.), for harboring a slave woman of Mr. Mathers. Sent to the penitentiary for 2 years.

CITY COURT.

FRIDAY, Dec. 25.

Moses Bard, alias Hurst (f. m. c.), and Shadrach Henderson (f. m. c.), aiding Jim, slave of James Rudd, and Edward, slave of Christopher Beeler, to escape to Indiana. Hurst took them to Portland and crossed the river. He then went to Salem with them, but afterwards returned with them to New Albany, where he kept them concealed. They were to start for Canada on Tuesday, where Hurst promised to take them for $10 each, but were arrested before the time. Hurst committed in default of giving $1,500 bail for his appearance, and Henderson's case continued.

Newspaper account of the arrrest.

The story unfolds in the following manner. Shadrach Henderson and Moses Bard had both arrived in New Albany before 1850. Henderson lived in the West Union area of New Albany, where most African Americans lived at that time. In his neighborhood were other boatmen (including a riverboat steward, William Harding, to whom the work will refer to later) lived nearby. Hurst was a barber who

lived on Eighth Street, north of Sycamore Street (now known as Culbertson Avenue) and just below the Northern Cemetery (now called Fairview Cemetery). Because he lived in the home of George Washington Carter, he probably worked in Carter's barbershop. It is also possible that he worked as a barber on the riverboats.

Late in December of 1853, Hurst and Henderson conspired to help two slaves from Louisville escape across the Ohio River into New Albany. One of the slaves was Jim Armstrong, who belonged to a James Rudd. The other slave, known only as Edward, belonged to a Christopher Beeler. Hurst was responsible for taking them to Portland, Kentucky where they made their crossing. Because the ferry from Louisville to New Albany left from Portland, it is possible that the three men used the ferry to cross the river.[27] Yet, Henderson, with his knowledge of the Ohio River, could have crossed with them at night in a skiff. From New Albany, Hurst took the runaways as far as Salem, Indiana, in Washington County. From various other accounts, it is evident that runaway slaves often used the route from New Albany to Salem.[28] In the early years of the development of Washington County, there were groups of free African Americans living in various parts of the county. Some lived in the Becks Mill area to the south of Salem, others lived in Salem itself, or in "Little Africa" north of town. In the 1820 census, there were 50 African Americans living in Washington County. The population continued to grow, and ten years later had risen to 205 individuals. In addition, there were a number of Blacks who lived scattered about in the county with White families.[29]

Another Black barber, Sampson Christy, also lived in Salem, Indiana. Christy was also an excellent and well-known musician who performed throughout Southern Indiana. Because of their common occupations and mobility, Hurst may have known Sampson Christy and may have maintained contact with him. Christy owned two barber shops that served White customers only. By 1859, however, Christy had moved to Chatham, Kent County, Ontario, Canada a well-known destination for fugitive slaves.[30]

After Hurst, Anderson and Edward arrived in Salem, there was a surprising twist of events. For some reason, the three doubled back and returned to New Albany. They may have thought they were being followed, or possibly their Salem contact did not materialize. Once back in New Albany, Hurst concealed the slaves with an African American couple in the basement of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, located at the northwest corner of 7th and Elm Streets. The Presbyterian Seminary had been a

1855 Louisville Daily Courier acccount of the case.

Moses Grey and Milton Clark (f. m. c.), evil fame. Grey belongs to the steamer Pauline. Clark drives a baggage-wagon between Portland and the city, and last night Officer Aird hired Clark to bring him to town and take him back, the boat having been detained on account of an accident to the latehour. Both possess good characters. Officer Aird found them about the city for several hours before 10 o'clock last night, and suspected them of running away slaves. Both discharged.

James Cunningham (f. m. c.), the musician, was arrested on suspicion of running off slaves. Kirkpatrick has suspected him ever since Mr. Shotwell's slave was run off, three years since. Letters from Fairbanks addressed to him and his wife were found in his possession. K. had reason to suspect that the clothing of Shotwell's slave was deposited there. Other negroes belonging to Mr. Thomas, Capt. Rudd, and Mr. Brandon had been run off since, and some of their clothes were found in Cunningham's house. The latest case occurred about a year ago. On cross-examination it appeared that Kirkpatrick saw Cunningham in court this morning, and arrested him. Cunningham is about town all the time, but Kirkpatrick never thought of arresting him until he saw him in court. He gave as a reason for not arresting him sooner, that he had been waiting a more favorable opportunity to send both Cunningham and wife to the penitentiary. Officer Hamlet arrested a negro named Shadrach Henderson, a year or two ago, for running away negroes, and Henderson, in his statements, implicated Cunningham. Bail in $500 to be of good behavior for one year. Bail given.

John Brady, drunkenness and abusing his family. He has been before the court on a similar charge half a dozen times. He keeps the whole neighborhood in an uproar. Bail in $50 for 6 months. Workhouse.

POCKET CASES.

hotbed of controversy because of the slavery issue. Two of the professors, Thomas E. Thomas and Erasmus Darwin MacMaster, were both strong anti-slavery proponents and had been accused of influencing their students and making abolitionists out of them.[31] This incident must have fanned the flames of suspicion and distrust towards the seminary.

Hurst had offered to take Anderson and Edward to Canada for $16.00 each. They planned to leave the following Tuesday, on December 27, 1853. Because it was during the Christmas holiday season, they may have thought the police would not be as vigilant and the chance of being followed would be minimized. However, before the trek ever began, the New Albany Town Constable, Jerry Warner, arrested the two slaves on December 18, 1853; he received a reward of $250 for their apprehension.[32] After Anderson and Edward were discovered and arrested, Hurst and Henderson were also arrested as the two people who had helped them escape. Bail for Hurst was set at $1,500, which he was unable to pay. Henderson's case was continued.[33] When Henderson appeared in court, he implicated James Cunningham as being his Kentucky contact. Henderson must have known him through their common occupation of working on the river. The Louisville Police had always suspected Cunningham of helping slaves escape but had never been able to charge him.[34] On April 5, 1855, Louisville Officer Kirkpatrick arrested Cunningham on suspicion of running off slaves. Cunningham paid his $500 bail and was released with the stipulation that he be on good behavior for one year.[35] We do not know what happened to Hurst and Henderson after their arrest. Their names do not appear in the 1860 Floyd County census records. The strongest possibility is that after being released, they left Southern Indiana.

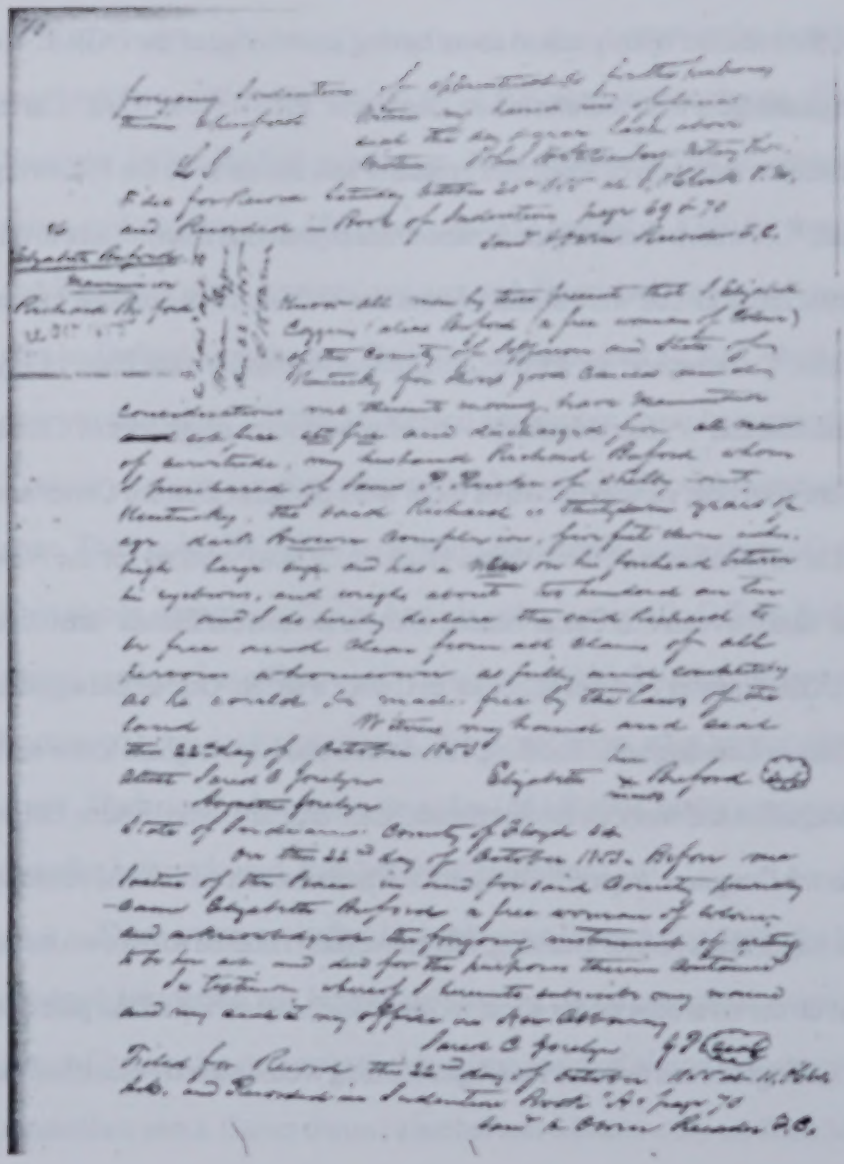
There are several other New Albany African Americans who had connections with Moses Bard, Shadrach Henderson and James Cunningham. An important relationship to Hurst is that of George Washington Carter, who researchers strongly suspect of giving assistance to runaway slaves.[36] During the antebellum years, Carter owned a barber and tobacco shop on West Main Street in New Albany, as well

as his own home and vineyard on Upper Eighth Street. Several of his sons and other relatives worked for him. Because Black barbers came into regular contact with both Blacks and Whites, it would have been easy for them to exchange UGRR information on a regular basis.[37] Because he had established himself in business early in New Albany, he was well-known and had built up a large clientele. His clients included White citizens such as the Nunemacher family, a group of active Presbyterians in town.[38] It is also worth noting that Carter educated some of his children in Canada while maintaining his residence in New Albany. Two of his children were born in Chatham, Ontario. This afforded him opportunities to travel back and forth between Floyd County and Canada. On August 4, 1860, the New Albany Daily Ledger published a letter Carter had written to the editor in which he and his friends denounced a group of Blacks who had gathered in the Hedden Woods near the New Albany fairgrounds. In the speech, celebrating the anniversary of West India's emancipation, the preacher openly talked about having knowledge of the UGRR. He told the group he knew of sixteen passengers who had started on "the route" the previous week. Carter and his friends felt the need to distance themselves from this preacher and did so with the following published letter, which reads in part: "... I wish it distinctly understood that myself and many others in our city do not endorse but repudiate the remarks that were made. I do not know this man, never saw him in my life, nor do I ever care to see him.[39] Carter and six African Americans -- John Fowles, Henry Clay, John Sanders, Edward Carter, John Hill and William Harding — all of whom were neighbors of Carter, signed the letter. Two of these were riverboat stewards, two of them were barbers (Edward Carter and John Hill were related to G. W. Carter), and one of them was a blacksmith who worked for the New Albany-Salem Railroad. The letter likely reveals that Carter needed to cover his and his friends' activities.

Yet another piece to the UGRR mystery comes together in Carter's letter. One of the signers, William Harding, was a friend of James Cunningham. Harding, Henderson and Cunningham knew each other because of their common occupation and work on the riverboats. Cunningham, who lived in Louisville, had subscribed to *The Frederick Douglass' Paper*.[40] Because it was considered subversive material, he was not able to receive the paper at his home. Harding, therefore, had it mailed to his own home in New Albany. He would hide it on the riverboat under sheet music, which lay on top of the piano so Cunningham could find it. After Cunningham had finished reading it, Harding would secretly take it back to New Albany.[41]

Along with an Underground Railroad web made up of people like Cunningham, Harding, Carter, Hurst and Henderson, there were other means of escaping slavery through the New Albany-Floyd County "gateway." One of those escape routes was through legal means. Free African Americans would purchase a slave from the owner, usually a family member, and then set him or her free. Some of those transactions were found in the Floyd County Recorder's office in a book entitled "Book of Indentures," and the focus of the next section.

Section Four
Entering the Gate Through the Court System



Though not normally thought of as part of the UGRR in the conventional sense, reaching freedom through legal means--rather than illegal--was indeed another way of getting through the "gate." The Floyd County "Book of Indentures" contains over forty-eight records of "Proof of Freedom" and thirty-seven "Deeds of Manumission."[42] It is evident that in this way, too, New Albany, as the county seat of Floyd County, was used by many Blacks as a "gateway" into free territory. The

Manumision paper of Richard Buford.

1850 Federal Census shows that New Albany was, in fact, the largest city in the state of Indiana, and after Cincinnati, Ohio, the largest community bordering Kentucky along the Ohio River considered to be in "free" territory. A number of the Deeds of Manumission[43] found in the Floyd County records are of free African Americans who purchased family members for the sole purpose of setting them free. They bear a powerful testimony: Though on the page itself each document appears to be flat and unemotional, the depth of each recorded document, whether it be a freedom paper, a manumission paper or a bill of sale showing the transaction of a free person purchasing family members out of slavery, is indeed deep and filled with emotion.[44]

Elizabeth Buford's act of setting her husband Richard free gives us an example of the depth of feeling that is involved in such a transaction. Elizabeth was a free woman who purchased her husband in

Richard Buford, Manumission

Know all men by these presents that I Elizabeth Cozzens alias Buford a free woman of colour of the County of Jefferson and State of Kentucky for divers[sic] good causes and considerations me thereunto moving have manumitted set free and discharged from all manner of servitude my husband Richard Buford whom I purchased of James P. Rucker of Shelby County, Kentucky the said Richard Buford is 37 years of age dark brown complexion 5'11" high, large size and has a [unclear] on his forehead between his eyebrows and weighs about 210. And I do hereby declare the said Richard to be free and clear from all claims of all persons whomever as fully and completely as he could be made free by the laws of the land.

Witness my hand and seal this 22 day of October, 1853.

"X" Elizabeth Buford

Attest: Jared C. Jocelyn
Augustus Jocelyn

State of Indiana County of Floyd: On the 22 October 1853 before me justice of the Peace in and for said County personally appeared Elizabeth Buford a free woman of colour and acknowledged the foregoing instrument of writing to be her act and deed for the purposes therein contained. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal.

Jared C. Jocelyn

Filed in Floyd County, Indiana by Sam H. Owen, Recorder.[45]

order to give him his freedom. The manumission paper reads as follows:

Another example is that of John Carter. Carter was a free "man of color" who resided in Louisville. On November 1, 1853, he purchased his wife, Betsy, along with their youngest child, Betty, from Robert Montgomery for the sum of $500. Over a period of time, he purchased their other children. As it was stated on the manumission documents "it was the wish and desire of the said John Carter to release his said wife and four aforesaid children from all obligation or bonds of slavery ... and to manumit and emancipate and set free..." his family.[66] Carter was to make payments for his wife and the youngest child over a twelve-month period. The second "Bill of Sale" stipulated that he was pay $500 for Sarah, age fifteen, before January 1, 1855; $350 for Sally, age twelve, before January 1, 1856; and $350 for Carey, age eight years, before January 1, 1857. It was agreed that John would not "take possession" of the three older children until January 1, 1855. On the day he signed the Bills of Sale, he also filed a "Deed of Emancipation" setting them free.

The strategy of purchasing slaves and setting them free through the Indiana courts was risky to say the least. Many freedom papers issued in Floyd County were granted to people moving into or through the State of Indiana even *after* the State passed the Exclusion Act in 1851, which meant it was no longer legal for Blacks to enter the state as new residents. The examples given above testify to that. The process of going through the court system made them vulnerable to entanglement with the law as well as to the bias held against them by the community at large. In part, it was this very thing which the New Albany Daily Ledger spoke out against when it said, "If the colored residents of this community who are lawfully so, were to discourage the immigration of negroes unlawfully, we believe they would get along peaceably and without trouble."[67]

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, with its retroactive nature, made it imperative for the free as well as runaway slaves to secure freedom papers for their protection. Remaining along the border of a slave state was not safe. The presence of informers and slave catchers, as well as the nearby Louisville slave market made it an uncomfortable place to live. Many of them, therefore, traveled further north through unknown territory and among strangers. If they had secured a freedom or manumission paper it gave them some means of identification and, hopefully, protection.

Conclusion

In the introduction to this chapter it was stated that thinking of the UGRR in terms of tunnels, hidden staircases and secret hiding places does not fit with the way it functioned along the border between Louisville, Kentucky, and Southern Indiana. It is far more revealing to investigate the lives of the people involved than to focus on sites and buildings. This involves looking at the political climate, religious and moral attitudes, the economy and sociological issues. It is the people who thought and felt and acted. Through this approach, one is able to uncover information such as the fact that during the 1850s and 1860s, a good quarter of the African American population in the New Albany-Floyd County region on the river. That single piece of information turns out to be a big and important piece of the Underground Railroad puzzle.

For those of us who take freedom for granted, it is difficult to fathom the risk made by individuals who assisted slaves in their attempt to find freedom. Lucas, Hurst, Henderson, and Cunningham were willing to jeopardize their own freedom for the sake of others. For their sacrifice and the cause of freedom for which they worked, we owe them the utmost honor and respect.

ENDNOTES

[1]Whereas many Underground Railroad researchers focus on buildings and sites, I have directed my attention to uncovering stories about specific people who reveal how the Underground Railroad functioned.

[2] Pamela R. Peters, The Underground Railroad in Floyd County, Indiana, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Inc., 2001), 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3-4.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The federal Fugitive Slave Act of February 12, 1793, authorized slave owners to arrest fugitive slaves in any state or territory. The 1850 Fugitive Slave Act strengthened the earlier statue by allowing the U.S. Commissioners, as well as the courts, could issue warrants for the arrest of runaway slaves. The provision now included slaves who had run away in the past and had since established themselves in free territories or states. If a runaway were arrested, he or she had no voice with the court.

[6] The Indiana Exclusion Act of 1851 was adopted to prevent further settlement of Blacks in the state. After October 31, 1851, Blacks who had not previously established residency were not legally allowed to come into Indiana, but the law was difficult to enforce. While nullified in 1866, the language itself was not removed from the books until March of 1881. John Norman, editor of the The New Albany Daily Ledger, constantly protested the issue, stating that new Blacks coming into Floyd County would take away jobs from the White population. The paper berated Floyd County Black citizens for harboring those who were not legally in the county.

[7] New Albany Daily Ledger. 16 March 1821, p2, c1; 16 March 1863, p2, c.1. As late as March 1863 two or three "negroes" were kidnapped in New Albany, taken to Kentucky and sold into slavery.

[8] For more information on the Fugitive Slave Law or the State Exclusion Act see the section of this book covering court cases.

[9] John Brown, Diary of John Brown, 4 March 1822, as presented in Peters, Floyd County, 9.

[10] Louisville Weekly Journal, 2 March 1842.

[11] Details of this story are contained in Peters, Floyd County.

[12] West Union was the area north of downtown New Albany where the majority of African Americans lived.

[13] New Albany Daily Ledger, 25 July 1862.

[14] The fact that Sarah kept an address in Louisville would be discovered in her arrest record. Kentucky adopted a law, which for practical purposes was referred to as "The Free Negro Law of Kentucky," which restricted free "Negroes or mulattoes" from coming into the State with the intention of remaining. Upon conviction, the punishment was confinement in the penitentiary for a period of not less than six years. When Henson McIntosh was arrested for aiding slaves to escape in 1861, he was additionally charged with "migrating into the state of Kentucky illegally." Peters, Floyd County, 120-123.

[15] Miscellaneous Court Records of Floyd County, Indiana, Book of Indentures, 45-46.

[16] The name of "Sarah Ann Lucas" does not appear in the 1850 Floyd County census records. If, as the court records stated, she was sometimes a resident of Jefferson County, Kentucky, she may not have been counted in the Indiana Census. It is also possible that she changed her name through marriage or used an alias when speaking with the census taker. "Sarah Ann Lucas, Proof of Freedom", Miscellaneous Court Records of Floyd County, Indiana, Book of Indentures, 45-46.

[17] 1860 U.S. Census Record, Floyd County, Indiana.

[18] In Sarah's 1851 Freedom Paper, the clerk described her as being of light mulatto complexion. When she registered two years later in 1853, the clerk described Sarah as being dark brown.

[19] "City Court Record," Louisville Daily Courier, 9 January 1854.

[20] "Obituary of Mary Israel," New Albany Daily Ledger, 4 September 1871.

[21] Peters, Floyd County, 23.

[22] "Arrival of Contrabands," New Albany Daily Ledger, 22 July 1862. p. 1 c. 5; "Aggravated Murder Last Night – One Man Killed and Other Badly Wounded by a Negro," New Albany Daily Ledger, 22 July 1862. p. 2 c. 1; "Negro

Shot, Negroes Badly Beaten," New Albany Daily Ledger, 22 July 1862. p. 2 c. 1.

[23] New Albany Daily Ledger, 23 July 1862, p1, col. 3.

[24] New Albany Daily Ledger, 20 June 1864.

[25] For additional information about James Cunningham, see Peters, Floyd County, 23 and 91.

[26] U.S. Census Record for Floyd County, *1850*.

[27] City Court Records, Louisville Daily Journal, 24 December 1853.

[28] For additional accounts of use of this route, see Peters, *Floyd County*.

[29] Coy D. Robbins, Reclaiming African Heritage at Salem, Indiana, (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc, 1995), 27. Robbins lists White families in 1830 that had American Americans counted by the census takers living in their household. Robbins says, "A more plausible explanation than slave must be devised to account for the sizeable number of African Americans enumerated in these White households." In researching the names of these White heads of households, I determined that one-half of the men were leaders in a group referred to as "Peace Movement." More research needs to be conducted on the mission of this group and why these White households included so many Black families. See also, Warder W. Stevens, Centennial History of Washington County, (Indianapolis: B.F. Bowen & Co.), 1916.

[30] Robbins, Reclaiming African American History, 124.

[31] For more detailed information about the Presbyterian Seminary in New Albany, see Peters, Floyd County, 50-53.

[32] Jerry Warner lived close to the Presbyterian Seminary. He lived on the north side of Elm Street, between Upper 3rd and 4th Streets.

[33] "City Court Record," Louisville Daily Journal, 23 December 1853.

[34] "City Court Record," Louisville Daily Courier, 6 April 1855.

[35] "Police Court Docket," Louisville Daily Courier, April 6, 1855.

[36] Peters, Floyd County.

[37] Blaine Hudson, "Crossing the 'Dark Line': Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in Louisville and North-Central Kentucky," The Filson History Quarterly, volume 75 (Winter 2001): 44.

[38] "Bill/receipt for shaving and hair cutting from February 16, 1862 to February 1, 1864 to A. H. Nunemacher from George Washington Carter".

[39] New Albany Daily Ledger, 4 August 1860.

[40] Frederick Douglass published a variety of antislavery papers including the Frederick Douglass' Paper (1851-1860) to bring news of the anti-slavery movement to thousands.

[41] Peters, Floyd County, 126-127.

[42] The Floyd County Freedom Papers are summarized in Appendix E of Peters, Floyd County, 151-170. They are also on microfilm in the New Albany-Floyd County Library, Stuart B. Wrege Indiana History Room.

[43] To "manumit" means to set free. Sometimes the terms "manumission" and "emancipation" are used interchangeably.

[44] Peters, Floyd County, 135.

[45] Miscellaneous Court Records of Floyd County, Indiana, Book of Indentures, 70.

[46] *Ibid.*, 72-74.

[47] New Albany Daily Ledger, 12 January 1856.

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GRANT COUNTY

by Students at Marion High School

Students in the Marion High School (Marion, Indiana) AP History class have compiled the following information on Underground Railroad activity in Grant County. Working with their teacher, Bill Munn, these students examined information contained in the local historical society, as well as contemporary newspapers to learn about the activity of Grant County residents. The work completed by the students is only a starting point for future research and historians. The compiled work here allows researchers to understand what is currently known about the UGRR activity in Grant County. As more research progresses, more resources are found and stories are networked with other stories around the state, this work will become more complete, offering a better view of the activity in one part of the State, the entire State, and how they fit into the greater scheme of United State history.

Aaron Betts
By Mishele Hunt

As one does research on those involved in the Underground Railroad (UGRR), ancillary participants can be discovered. Such is the case of Aaron Betts, a Quaker minister, who helped African Americans reach Grant County.[1] Born in Clinton County Ohio,[2] he arrived in Grant County Indiana in 1840 with either five African American men or five African American families. Betts helped these men acquire land in and around the area that is now known as Weaver in Liberty Township, Grant County, Indiana.[3] Following Indiana becoming a state in 1816, free Blacks began migrating to Indiana. "Throughout the period from 1820 to 1860 African Americans accounted for approximately one percent of the state's population. More than 10,000 African Americans resided in Indiana at the outbreak of the Civil War."[4] The Weaver Settlement became a thriving African Americans community settled by families from North Carolina and Virginia including: Pettiford, Weaver, Burden, Smith, Jones, Shoecraft, Patterson, and Mitchell. Many of these families eventually moved on from Indiana because of pressure from the 1831 Negro Register laws, 1851 State Constitution, the Federal 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, and the racist treatment received.[5]

By helping African Americans settle in Indiana, Betts was himself persecuted. Before coming to Grant County, Betts worked in Ohio with Christopher Hiatt and David Sewall. The three experienced

great difficulty from pro-slavery citizens. Once, while some anti-slavery speakers were stopped at Hiatt's house, citizens opposing their viewpoints on the slavery issues trimmed the manes and tails of their horses close.[6] While no evidence exists that Betts was involved in the Underground Railroad directly, he did help men come to Grant County and provided an environment that allowed for abolitionists to do their work.

Charles Atkinson
By Jessie Robinson

Charles Atkinson, the second child of Thomas Atkinson and Alice Phillips, was born on June 21, 1796 near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.[7] He married Lydia Oren in Clinton County, Ohio, on July 15, 1820.[8] On April 23, 1836, he purchased two lots of land in the Monroe Township, Grant County, Indiana from the Fort Wayne Land Office,[9] however, he did not move his family to the land until 1838.[10] As an early settler of Grant County, he became very active within the community and became quite popular. Atkinson died on April 20, 1873 at the age of 82 and is buried in the Atkinson Cemetery.[11]

He made a significant improvement on his land that he purchased and began to raise his family on this land. Only a year after he moved his family into their house, his household became a meetinghouse for the Quakers. A schoolhouse was soon built on his land, in 1843, and Atkinson became the principal of the school. Atkinson so strongly believed in the cause of abolition that he made a speech in Marion, Indiana in a hope to free slaves. He, however, received the opposite reaction from the crowd and barely escaped the hissing and rotten-egg throwing mob. Slave hunters covered the courthouse with handbills offering rewards for runaways and "for the delivery of Charles Atkinson..."[12] Evidence from other UGRR participants such as John Shugart, John Ratliff, and Robert Beatty implicate Atkinson's involvement.[13]

Atkinson's key role in the Underground Railroad throughout his township freed a number of slaves. He worked heavily as a conductor in the concealing and aiding of runaway escaping to Canada.[14] The Atkinson farm was a key station through the south part of the township, in the area near present day where Upland, Indiana. Atkinson used his outbuilding to hide individual, with his children taking food to the hidden slaves and then moved the slaves in the bottom of a big wagon or "prairie schooner," with wheat or hay on top to conceal them, taking them to Mose Bradford's farm. These two stations played a big part in the freeing of many slaves that traveled through Indiana.[15]

David Conner Sr.
By D'Nei Albergottie

David Conner (1771 – 1844)[16] came to Indiana from Greenville, Ohio around 1812-1813.[17] He was one of the first individuals to settle in what is now known as Grant County. Conner was a man of trade and owned a trading post at Sutton's Ford, and later another, at Conner's Mill, a gristmill up the Mississinewa River called Barley's Mill, and was also a government agent for the Indians.[18] Though Conner owned land in various nearby locations,[19] he and his family lived in the township that he founded, Pleasant Township.[20] Conner was never charged with illegal activity, but one incident can be found in county histories. According to the legend, while harboring some runaways, the Kentucky owners were able to recapture the fugitives. Conner was able to get the Indians (most likely the Miami Indians) to help him, and before the captors reached Jonesboro, the Indians had surrounded them. From there, the Indians returned the refugees to Conner in which he sent the refugees straight to Canada.[21] The county history does not have a specific date for this incident, so future research of newspaper articles will aid in proving this event.

David Jay
By Natasha Maddox

David Jay was born in Miami County, Ohio on January 25, 1809, to Samuel Jay and Bathsheba Pugh. He grew up in West Branch, Miami County, Ohio. On June 25, 1829, he married Sarah Jones, daughter of Elisha Jones and Susannah Hollingsworth.[22] In 1835, Jay and his family traveled from Miami County, Ohio, and purchased land from the Fort Wayne land office.[23] They settled west of Jonesboro, Indiana on the southeast quarter of Section 32.[24] Jay, in search of more and better land, sold this farm and purchased a farm on Deer Creek in Liberty Township. It was said to be one of the best developed farms and had the first two-story log house built in Liberty Township on Deer Creek. Jay was attributed for improvements of Grant County. He helped with the construction of the dam across the Mississinewa River and transported timber under an agreement for an old river bridge and regularly hauled commodities from Richmond and Cincinnati.[25] He was an avid farmer and agriculturist, with strong convictions; "You could not influence old David Jay against what he thought was right." Jay was an Abolitionist and was active during the Underground Railroad era in Grant County.[26] He was allied with the Antislavery Friends and

took part in creating the Deer Creek Antislavery Meetings.[27] In 1843, the members of the Back Creek Monthly Meeting read out Jay for his participation with the Antislavery Friends. With his leaving the meeting house, Jay took part in establishing the Bethel Friends Meeting, where he served as the official until his death on September 13, 1866. He is buried in the Back Creek Cemetery of Fairmount Township of Grant County, Indiana. His wife died on January 28, 1890, and was buried in the same place.[28]

George Shugart
By Jennifer Rohrer

George Shugart, born in North Carolina in 1770, moved his family to Mill Township, Grant County in 1835.[29] He died in 1851 and his house still stands. As a Quaker, he regularly attended the Missiseinewa Monthly Meeting. On December 12, 1832 a group of members were appointed to determine whether the actions of Shugart, as well as a number of other individuals, were acceptable in the honor of truth. The commission ruled that Shugart had been committing acts that were contrary to the order of discipline. The Mississinewa Monthly Meeting of Friends read out all of these individuals because of their suspicion of slave transportation. These Friends then formed their own meetings, called the Anti-Slavery Friends, and began holding meetings on the third seventh day of each month. It was at these meetings that were held in the name of truth, that members actively discussed the issue of slavery and their concerns of the liberation of slaves. It was then decided by the group to continue extending their hands to these persecuted peoples as friends, and as neighbors.[30]

Around the mid-1840s, Shugart built a newer, more efficient, and a more deceiving home. The house was designed to be 4 bricks thick on the outside, and 3 bricks thick on the inside, leaving space between the walls, reportedly to hid runaway slaves. There were secret passages, fallout doors, and, if needed, the old log cabin that was still located not to far from the house.[31] As Shugart became more involved in the transportation of slaves,[32] he began working with individuals like Nathan Coggeshall. As one story tells, two teenage girl slaves were smuggled out of the house while the bounty hunters were being entertained. George said they were his daughters when they appeared wearing Quaker clothing, which covers much of the skin. The two girls were then put on their way to Canada.[33] George 's son John worked intensively with Coggeshall, who had been known to deliver refugees to John's door late at night.

John Shugart
By Mark McCracken

John Shugart was born December 5, 1794 in Surry County, North Carolina to George Shugart and Mary Davis. John soon moved to Wayne County, Indiana with his father, where he would grow up as a farmer.[34] He married Sarah Ratliff on September 28, 1814 in Randolph County, Indiana. The two soon moved back to Wayne County where they would live for the next 23 years. The Shugarts then moved to Grant County, Indiana in 1835, shortly before their eighth child was to be born. In Mill Township, they bought one hundred and sixty acres of land and built a log cabin with two rooms. John is buried in Deer Creek Cemetery in Mill Township. The cemetery is currently in disrepair, and John himself has a broken tombstone.

The Shugarts were Quakers with a strong opposition to slavery. One such incident occurred when slave hunters had stopped at John Shugart's home after an expected visit from Coggeshall. It is said that when John allowed the men to stay for the remainder of the night, he took their horses to the barn for them, to protect the small family of slaves hiding in the stables below the hayloft. He climbed into the hayloft after tying up the horses, and threw bail after bail of hay onto the understandably frightened family in order to conceal them from sight. Later that evening he loaded up his wagon and took them on their way to Michigan, where the family was nearly out of danger.[35] In a Wabash County newspaper article from 1881, it discusses some of the UGRR routes in Indiana, noting John's name amongst those who participated "...Coffin and his friends sent them on to the Bond Settlement, on Cabin Creek, Randolph county; and the Bonds, in like manner, conveyed them to John Suhgart's on Deer creek, Grant county, about 75 miles from Newport."[36]

Israel and Lydia Jenkins
By Jared Thorne

While no direct evidence exists of the Jenkins involvement in the UGRR, strong circumstantial evidence supports the stories surrounding the heritage family. Israel Jenkins was born on September 30, 1814 in Frederick County, Virginia to the parents of Jacob and Hannah Gothrop, both devout Quakers. This religious enthusiasm was instilled on their son Israel. The Jenkins family did not believe in slavery,

which initiated the family's move to Clinton County, Ohio in 1836. There Israel met Lydia Dwiggins, his soon to be wife.[37] Lydia Dwiggins was born in Clinton County, Ohio on October 6, 1812. Her parents, Robert and Sarah Dwiggins, were Quakers from South Carolina. Following their marriage, Israel and Lydia moved to Grant County, Indiana in 1839. They bought 80 acres of partially improved land with a log cabin on it in the southwest quarter of section 29 in Monroe Township in 1840. Israel was a farmer, but also built and worked a sawmill on the north and northwest portion of his property, using Walnut Creek. He worked with his brother-in-law Daniel Dwiggins.[38]

In 1848, abolitionists in Monroe Township left the Quaker Meeting because of philosophical differences in the Quaker Deer Creek and other a anti-slavery friends. It is in that year that the names of Israel and Lydia Jenkins appear at numbers 22 and 23 respectively on the New Light Church Constitution. Membership in the New Light Christian Church signify Israel and Lydia Jenkins supported anti-slavery sentiment. The written history of the "New Light" Christian church states "our people were also very active in the Underground Railway...Two very important questions were before the people during this period ... one was the liquor question and the other was slavery ... our members were extremely pronounced on both .... our people were very active in the Underground Railway ... we had no sympathizers with the, south."[39] Wilbur Seibert makes reference to the "New Light" in his Underground Railroad papers on Indiana. "Fred Douglas came to Richmond, Indiana to make a speech in favor of abolition of slavery ... they greeted him with a shower of stale eggs ... someone moved that we adjourn to the New Light Church,"[40] but does not discuss further this religion's followers' participation in the UGRR.

The Israel Jenkins home. (DHPA Photo).

Family tradition states that along with their neighbors, namely Charles Atkinson the Jenkins harbored and helped runaway slaves traveling along the Underground Railroad. As it is said in the book, Economy-Cabin Creek Short Branch and some of its Operatives, "You follow this creek all the way until it dwindles out, and any

home you see from its banks will be safe for you."[41] The Jenkins home is implied by this statement because from the creek bed, their house is the largest and highest up on the terrain. A bridge between the Atkinson home and the Jenkins home was used to transfer slaves from one house to another easily; the bridge still stands.[42] When Jenkins built the his home,[43] he kept in mind the realization of harboring slaves. Located in the house was an "inner room," a space to fit and safely hide anywhere from 12-20 people. In addition, under the stairwell, access to a crawlspace is hidden from view, by a stoveboard covering. All of the walls are double brick, which detered slave hunters with dogs, who could not pick up the scent of a individual who was hidden.[44] Israel Jenkins died November 10, 1877 and Lydia died on September 27, 1890, when their property was sold to Israel's brother in law. Israel Jenkins played a major role in the Underground Railroad. He harbored several slaves to insure their freedom. The Jenkins families took large risks, but were willing to in order to save the lives of runaway slaves.[45]

Moses Bradford
By J. P. Bratcher

Every county has its famous forefathers and settlers. For Grant County, Indiana, one of those famous settlers was Moses Bradford. He settled in the northern part of Center Township and from there he operated and directed some great escapes via the UGRR. Bradford was born in New Creek in Hardy County, Virginia on September 21, 1819 to George Bradford and Elizabeth Shell.[46] He had a total of twenty-two siblings, five of those siblings were to his father's first wife and seventeen of them were to his father and his mother. Some of his older siblings eventually moved, at separate times, to the Grant County area of Indiana. Bradford followed the by moving to Grant County in 1841 and bought land on the North side of the Mississinewa River.[47] While visiting some relatives in Ohio, Bradford met Mary Eleanor Van Horn and on April 7, 1849, they married in Xenia, Greene County, Ohio and then returned to Indiana.[48] Before the breakout of the Civil War, Bradford purchased the lone brick house that backed up to the Mississinewa River; this location assisted Bradford in his work as an abolitionist and UGRR participant.

His neighbors described him as a man "not to be stopped by man or devil when he felt the cause of humanity needed his presence and help."[49] Because he stood by his many principles, Bradford was

threatened many times with words and violence, but he never hesitated once his mind was focused on accomplishing a certain task. He was one of the early abolitionists and became one of the most famous abolitionists in the Grant County and Central Indiana area. Slaves would travel up the Mississinewa River and enter Bradford's house from the rear, where they would receive shelter and the necessary provisions to reach the next station en route to Canada. Bradford, along with all the people in Marion who helped with the Underground Railroad, assisted approximately 1,500 slaves through Grant County, for this he was a highly wanted man by many groups and organizations.[50] According to several records, the "Knights of the Golden Circle" threatened Bradford that he would be "mobbed" because of his great involvement with the movement.[51] His house was the scene of many exciting plans to resist the capture of the "cargo" on the railroad. Bradford even had a reward for his capture throughout his involvement with the runaway slaves that, at one point, were up to at least $200.[52] Bradford was never caught for his involvement in assisting runaway slaves and led a very prosperous life after the Civil War. Bradford is buried at the IOOF cemetery in Marion, Indiana.[53]

Noah Smith
By Linda Silveus

Noah Smith was one of the most well known African American men in Grant County in the late 1800s. He was born on the May 24, 1832. On the November 25, 1857 he married Amanda Burden in Grant County.[54] Both Noah Smith and his father, David Wilson, helped runaway slaves escape to freedom. Wilson came from Kentucky in 1853 and settled on Nathan Coggeshall's farm. Coggeshall worked with Wilson on at least two separate occasions to transport people to Cass County, Michigan. One of these trips took thirteen men, women and children, while the other trip there were nine people.[55] On another time, Smith transported five people to Michigan. They walked the entire trip through woods and roads that were not well traveled to be able to make the trip safely. Smith received from Coggeshall twenty-five dollars for the journey.[56] After a lingering illness, Smith died in his home on south Washington Street, Marion, Indiana on July 20, 1907.[57] He is buried at the I.O.O.F. cemetery.[58] At his death, Smith left 100 acres of land and several town properties to his widow and children.[59]

Thomas Baldwin
By Seth Foss

Thomas Baldwin was born on April 26, 1813 in Wayne County, close to the current site of Earlham College. He and his wife, devout Quakers, moved to Grant County in the Fairmount Township in 1833, being one of the first settlers in the area.[60] Thomas Baldwin and Lydia Thomas were married in New Garden in Wayne County, September 26, 1833 shortly before they moved to Grant County. Baldwin was a lawyer for part of his career, but spent his life mainly as a farmer. At times, he was also a teacher and a miller.[61] One of the Baldwins' most important contributions was not publicly recognized during their life, because it was illegal. This contribution was their assistance with the UGRR and was considered to be benevolent by their fellow Quakers, many of whom were also involved. The illegality of their actions, however, prevented creation of any type of official records. Lydia Baldwin does, however, record their involvement in her autobiography.[62] The groups of slaves that passed through their farm were sometimes as large as fifteen people. Some slaves even stayed at the farm for a while before they moved on to the next stop. In one instance, the slave catchers caught up to the slaves and actually caught them. The local citizens who knew the slave mobbed the slave catcher, who left for Kentucky empty handed.[63] Thomas and Lydia died in May 1899.[64]

Nathan Coggeshall

Nathan Coggeshall was born February 14, 1813, in North Carolina, but at the age of four years, his family moved to Indiana and located in Wayne County.[65] Around 1834, he came to Grant County. During his time in Grant County, he served as Town Councilman and trustee of White's Institute (a college for educating the Indians and poor of all denominations). But it is his work on the UGRR for which he has his greatest notoriety. Coggeshall's work as an UGRR agent was identified through various people in the Wilbur Siebert work.[66] The interest that Siebert's research ignited in Grant County inspired Coggeshall to write an article for the Marion Ledger in 1896. In this article, Coggeshall described some of the routes and the individuals he worked with on the UGRR. The route he used ran from Cabin Creek in Randolph County to several locations in Grant County. In addition to his work, he mentions Charles Baldwin and Aaron Hill near Fairmount, as well as John Shugart as being active. North of Marion, Coggeshall writes

that Moses Bradford's place was often a stop on the route. The county from that point north was sparsely settled and there were no safe houses until Lagro in Wabash County.

Coggeshall recounts that when fugitives came through the area, he accompanied them on horseback to the Morris Place in North Manchester (for more information on Morris Place, see the Wabash chapter). Coggeshall also discusses his relationship with Levi Coffin. When Coggeshall moved from Richmond to Grant County in 1834, Coffin asked him to transport a runaway. Coggeshall states from 1834, when he reached Grant County, until 1840 very few African Americans escaping slavery came through the area. But, by 1840 a regular route was established from Richmond through Grant County to Young's Prairie in Michigan. The activity of this route remained high until 1852. The last time he helped anyone was in 1855. At this incident, eight men who had come. After breakfast, they went on to Moses Bradford's home in North Marion, and finally on to Peabody in Lagro. That was the last he saw of these men. Coggeshall states that there were no "signs or secret words" that allowed him to know who would help. Rather he knew the people involved and knew whom he could trust. Coggeshall gives his wife much credit for the work done on the UGRR. He states "When we had darky women around, and strange white men of whom we were suspicious were seen coming to the house, we hid the colored people. My wife was a good hand at this. She did her full share in caring for the fugitives and planning ways and means to forward them."[67]

Abolitionist Work in Grant County

In the area of Jonesboro, Indiana several peripheral participants of the abolition movement can be found. While there is no evidence of their UGRR activity, the work they did helped to further the cause of abolition slavery. Obadiah Jones settled in what is today Jonesboro, Indiana in 1833 when he built his home on what would become main street. He was born in Randolph County, North Carolina on September 30, 1793. He moved to the Grant County area and by 1833 purchased land and built his home. Jones laid out the city of Jonesboro in 1837, with incorporation in 1853. Before the town was platted, the Quaker Church was founded there in 1835.[68] Jones established in 1844 the "Herald of Freedom," an abolitionist paper. He later changed the name to the "Oracle." Unfortunately, to date no known copies of the paper exists in Indiana.[69]

John Benbow opened his free labor store in the town, assuring that the products sold in the store were not made with slave labor hands.[70] Showing the town's people proclivity to the abolitionist sentiment, in an 1897 newspaper article, J. B. Lewis noted that after the Frederick Douglas attack in Pendleton, he learned of the event at an address given by Douglass in Jonesboro several nights later.[71]

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[25] *Ibid*, 254. [26]Jones Interview.

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[61] Lydia Baldwin, "Lydia Thomas Baldwin's Reminiscences," Area History of Fairmount, Indiana. (Fairmount, Indiana: Curtis Media, 1997) 142.

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HUNTINGTON AND WABASH COUNTIES

By Jeannie Regan-Dinius

Indiana researchers have begun locating sites, individuals, and events associated with the Underground Railroad (UGRR) in select counties. With this information, we have begun to document events from the Ohio River ending at the Michigan Border; through the eastern portion of the state; and events associated around the capital, Indianapolis, but this history is fragmented because of a lack of information on all Indiana counties. The information provided below about Huntington and Wabash Counties is just the foundation for future research into the county's involvement in the UGRR, abolitionist work, and pro-slavery/south sentiments. Because of the nature of the grant provided by the National Park Service, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, the scope of work related to this project limits how much time could be spent exploring the history of these counties. Readers should not assume that more information is not hidden in diaries, newspaper articles, or other resources not gleamed for this project. The objective of this project was to review existing research, folklore, and oral history pertaining to the UGRR within the Indiana counties, serving as a beginning for future research.

Researchers began by collecting the research, folklore, and oral history that already exists within the county. This information was documented and kept, as it is important for the history of the community and serve as the basis for future research. From this preliminary knowledge, researchers looked in local archives, historical societies, and libraries for primary documentation related to that community's involvement in the UGRR, while also looking at the court records and other government related resources for mentions of UGRR, abolition activity, slavery or related topics. Contemporary newspapers (both abolitionist and local news media) were reviewed for mentions of UGRR activity. At this time, a brief description of Frank S. Bash is warranted, as his work is used throughout the chapter. Bash was a newspaper reporter for the Huntington Herald Press. From 1927 – 1931, he interviewed many of the older residents in the County and these interviews were published in the local paper. Bash also scrutinized historic papers to learn more about Huntington's history. These articles are now bound and available in the Indiana Room of the Huntington City/Township Public Library.

I want to thank the staff in the Indiana Room at the Huntington City/Township Public Library. If not for their assistance, especially that of the Director Joan Kiefer, many of the resources employed would not have been thoroughly utilized. Special thanks also go to the Huntington County Historical Society and the Director at the time Bob McKinley. Not only did he search their collection for pertinent documents,

but also gathered individuals who have knowledge of Huntington History. I am grateful to Dani Tippmann of the Miami Indians of Indiana for talking with her elders in order to discover any oral traditions related to slavery or Underground Railroad activity by their ancestors. Finally, recognition belongs to Eloise Scroggins, who assisted with the research for Wabash County and looked for materials at the Indiana Historical Society and Indiana State Library.

Huntington County has a long history, settled very early by the Miami Indians. The relationships and conflicts between the Miami and the American government are well documented and cover the vast majority of occurrences in the county before their 1841 removal. By 1805, Quakers settled in the county, just four miles west of the current city of Huntington,[1] to work with the Miami on education and farming techniques. Their work continued over the years, but the American military campaign against the Miami Indians destroyed this settlement in 1812.[2] The Miami have no oral traditions linking them to work on the UGRR.[3] The first known permanent White settler was Artemus Woodworth, who arrived in 1828 and settled near present day Andrews, Indiana. The County was organized in May 5, 1834, with the city of Huntington being incorporated February 16, 1848. The Wabash and Erie Canal was completed through the city of Huntington in 1836 and this transportation route boosted the economic and population growth of the city and county. Historians doing work on Huntington County have found that the many of the town's early records have been lost or destroyed, making research fragmented.

The results of the presidential elections of 1844, 1848, and 1852 demonstrate the political leanings of the county residents, with the Democratic Party having won in Huntington County.[4] Many Democrats at this time believed that the abolitionists were at fault for the impending dissolution of the county. Huntington also hosted several meetings that highlighted this thought pattern. At a Democratic rally held at the courthouse Lambdin P. Milligan, one of the most outspoken opponents of the Lincoln administration and abolitionists, made several anti-abolition speeches. Resolutions were also passed which stated they (the people of Huntington) had "no sympathy with the cause of secession, and do not believe that in the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, Abolitionist and Sectionalist…"[5] This atmosphere would make any abolitionist work or UGRR activity difficult.

The churches of Huntington have been quite diverse. The Quakers came to the county as early as 1805, with a Hicksite Meeting being located in Maple Grove,[6] the first Baptist church came in May 1841

from New Carlisle, OH as a "Baptists Colony,"[7] and the first Presbyterian Church was organized in November of 1843. "This church [Presbyterian] at its organization was New School and anti-slavery. It was connected with the Logansport Presbytery, which at that time embraced all of Northern Indiana."[8] Various preachers served in the capacity of leader of the church including James Carnahan, James Thompson, A.W. Freeman, Charles Beecher,[9] F.T. McCabe and Dr. Henry Little. More research is needed to be done on these ministers. Poor records of the church have reveled little of the sermons or beliefs of these ministers.

The United Brethren in Christ first settled in Huntington in 1842.[10] The American church voted at a 1797 annual meeting that "no brother or sister could own slaves."[11] This philosophy did not waver and congregations never split over the slavery issue. While this suggests that most United Brethrens were anti-slavery, it did not necessarily make them abolitionists (working actively towards the freedom of slaves), nor does it prove UGRR activity, which would require individuals to break the law and risk their lives to help another. While they opposed slavery, church doctrine opposed participation in activities related to politics. At the April 6, 1863 district meeting in Goshen, Indiana the meeting leaders reiterated that church members were "not to have anything to do with politics at all..."[12] and at the May 1, 1863 district meeting near Flora, Indiana, it was discussed that it was not right to participate or speak at political meetings.[13] While most likely this related directly to the Civil War, their reluctance to participate in politics may have kept them from participating in the UGRR. Also, no evidence was found connecting any United Brethren in Huntington County to Underground Railroad activity.

The early newspapers of Huntington were Democratic in sympathy. The Republic Bugle, later renamed the Huntington Democrat, began publishing in 1847. The editors of this anti-abolitionist paper, Samuel Winter and William Kocher, were quite vocal in their thoughts about slavery, abolitionist, and the Underground Railroad. The editors called Lincoln a "Black Republican" for its principles concerning the spread of slavery and claimed the work of the abolitionists would allow "niggers to vote," encourage the intermarriage of races, and cause the demise of the country.[14] Despite this hostility, individuals have been identified as active in the UGRR.

In the early histories of the county and the research conducted through this grant, several individuals were found to have worked on the Underground Railroad. James Campbell (1805 – 1878) arrived in

Historic map of Wayne Township. Campbell's property can be seen in Sections 22 and 23. Courtesy of the Huntington Township/City Public Library.

Wayne Township, close to Grant County, where he "gained considerable notoriety as a politician, and the decided stand which he took upon the question of the abolition of slavery."[15] James was married to Lucy Campbell in 1828 and had seven children. He owned property in Wayne Township, but also owned land in Grant County (very near his home in Huntington County).[16] His son John was born in 1843 in Grant County, but the local histories state that the family moved to Huntington County when John was six months old (September 1843).[17] An interview in 1922 by Frank S. Bash with 88-year-old Christopher Spath identifies Campbell as an individual associated with the UGRR.[18]

Another UGRR stop indicated in the local papers in the late 1970s was in Mount Etna (Wayne Township), the southern portion of the county. The historic home of Asher Fisher, a Quaker, is reported as an UGRR site.[19] The article then states that the trail continued onto Lagro, Wabash County and North Manchester, also in Wabash County. Fisher purchased land in 1835. He died in 1884.[20] This is the only mention of these men's activity. Further research will provide a broader look at their work.

A name that did not appear in any of the early histories of Huntington County was that of Reverend Chamberlain. His name, though, did appear in the Huntington Democrat in August of 1861. In an article in the paper, he is accused of running an Underground Railroad station. The Article reads:

> Ex-Rev. Chamberlain, we are informed, has been harboring at his residence, in this place, runaway negroes. It strikes us that it is against the laws of our State to engage in that kind of business. If so he ought to be put, through a course of 'sprouts.' He is one of who believe the Constitution a 'league of hell' Let him have the length of the law. 'Twill do him good."[21]

The 1860 Census has Reverend Chamberlain, age 37, and living in the City of Huntington. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1823. We find the Reverend in Huntington as early as 1858[22] and as late of 1863.[23] He served as the pastor at the Baptist Church for 16 months, but resigned his position to accept

an "agency of the American and Foreign Bible Society."[24] The American Bible Society was founded in New York City in 1816 with a purpose to "Encourage wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures..."[25] An article about his resignation states that " Mr. Chamberlain is a man of remarkable zeal and energy, and particularly fearless in his assaults upon every species of wrong. In a word, he is an exception to Ministers generally, for he has opinions and is not afraid to utter them."[26] We have not information on what his life was like and what activities he participated in before or after his time in Huntington. Research has been unable to locate him in records, so further research is needed to complete this story.

The1922 Bash article with Christopher Spath also reveals that Martin McFarland, living just south of Monument City, Polk Township, Huntington County,[27] was active with the UGRR. According to Spath, Mrs. Hiram Ham's mother was reportedly a domestic for the McFarland's and remembers Blacks being in the house from time to time.[28] McFarland was a Republican and at the Polk Township Republican Meeting held on April 5, 1858, he was chosen as a Central Committee member and chosen to go to the state convention as a delegate.[29] He was an early settler of the area near the Wabash/Huntington County Line. His home stood on what is now SR 124, between the Wabash County Line and the west and SR 105 on the east. His home was four miles west of Mount Etna. The Wabash County Historical Museum, in 1964, published an article by then curator Mary O'Hair titled Slavery, The Underground Railroad Movement and Some History, as Related to Wabash County, Indiana. She states McFarland was from Frederick County, VA born March 19, 1819, aas in Union army, 47th Indiana Volunteer Infantry for three years, and an active in the UGRR.[30] McFarland was considered one of the most outstanding conductors and station keepers in the Wabash County/Huntington County area. According to local history, riders riding from his home often had to swim through Deer and Rush Creeks, as no bridges existed across this creeks at this time.[31]

One event that The Huntington Democrat reported on related to abolitionist rallies. Often times they only vaguely refer to these people and their work. On June 6, 1863 an abolition meeting was held in Warren (eastern part of county). At this event, 200-300 people attended; the exact number of abolitionists compared to the anti-abolitionists is unknown. With the attendance of both sides, angers flared and a shoving match ensued. "Sammy Jones had knocked down a certain abolition doctor for his insults to the ladies present."[32] The article does not name the doctor.

Knights of Golden Circle

Of all the local legends that persist today related to slavery in Huntington County, the most perplexing has to be the story of the Lambdin P. Milligan and his "Slave House," as it is locally called. A group of lawyers interested in saving this portion of Huntington County history moved the small limestone structure to its current place in 1985, about ¼ of a mile from its original location to the new setting in Memorial Park. Despite rapid rumors of Milligan's work during this time period, no evidence has been found to substantiate this allegations. The local legend states that whenever Milligan found an African American in the county, he would arrest them for being a fugitive slave and place them in the building until he located the lawful owner. Milligan then would place newspaper advertisements stating that he had a slave and that the rightful owner should come and claim his property. By working with historians doing research on runaway slave ads, to date, none have been located with an association with Milligan. Also, a survey of Huntington newspapers could not find any reference to these types of events happening. Furthermore, there were African Americans living in Huntington County before the Civil War.[33] If he, as the rumor claims, looked for any African Americans, why did he not "arrest" members of these families?

So if no evidence of Milligan's work exists, why do the rumors persist? Perhaps people can believe that a person like Milligan could have done such deeds. His beliefs were not unknown and his work in the Knights of the Golden Circle is quite renown. Democrats in Indiana blamed Lincoln for the war and onslaught of death that occurred. At the forefront of this criticism was Milligan. At a meeting in Fort Wayne, Indiana about 20 miles northeast of Huntington, Milligan declared that upon Lincoln's shoulders rested "the crimes and all the horrible sins that are attendant upon prosecution of an unjust and unnecessary war."[34] The Knights of the Golden Circle were quite active in Huntington County, but their exact numbers, reasons for existence, and total work is not known.

Bash interviewed Sarah McCormick who discussed the abuse that her family experienced when her father (Jacob Fry) went off to the war. Her family lived in Warren Township, near the meeting of the Knights of the Golden Circle; this group tormented her family because they accused them of being abolitionists, because her father enlisted in the army.[35] In another instance, a classmate beat Sarah and called her a "little black abolitionists." Once her father had left for war, he rented his blacksmith shop to a neighbor, Charley Warren, who promised to give a percentage of the income of the shop to Sarah's mother

to help support them while he was gone. Sarah remarks that the Knights of the Golden Circle became bolder as the war progressed and Warren refused to pay any money to the family; Sarah claimed his sympathies lied with the Knights.[36] Sarah also blamed the Knights for the death of their cow, which provided the family with milk and butter. In another article by Bash, Christopher Spath accused Sarah's father, Jacob of spying on the Knights and informing the provost marshal of their work; perhaps the reason for their resentment towards the family. Spath told Bash that a mob of Knights rode to the Fry farm and threatened the family.

The first mention to Governor Oliver Morton about the activities of the Knights came from Minister of the Christian Church at Clear Creek Center, George Abbott. Abbott was the first minister of the church as well as a minister in Wabash County. Because of his strong abolitionist beliefs, and the willingness to verbalize his conviction, he was frequently called "Negro Lover" and "Black Abolitionist".[37] He learned of the work of the Knights of the Golden Circle in Huntington County and reported this information to the Governor, which led to the infiltration by Felix Stidger..[38]

Bash's articles reveals more of the work by the Knights according to the citizens of Huntington. Harvey Dilley lived in Markle, Indiana (on the Huntington/Wells County border). His family came to Markle in 1849, when he was three years old. Dilley told of his experience with the Knights in September of 1862 (Dilley would have been 16) when he snuck into a Knights meeting; he estimated the number at 300 men. He remembers seeing Milligan, Bowles, and others from Huntington County at the meeting. Bash's article also indicates the area of Bippus, or West Point as it was then called, as a safe place of Golden Circle members. Bash claimed that citizens accused the members of the Knights of attacking abolitionists' homes and threatening their families.[39]

Currently no record of the group exists except for references in newspaper articles and comments in histories of the county. But, the primary source of information about the group comes from Felix Stidger, who infiltrated the group during the Civil War. The Indiana government at the time believed that this group held anti-government viewpoints so they sent an agent to infiltrate the group, discover their leaders and plans, and unveil the group's true efforts. Milligan was born in Ohio,[40] but moved to Indiana where he became active in Democratic politics. He vehemently detested Indiana Governor Oliver P. Morton. He opposed Morton's effort in 1861-62 to maintain a state arsenal for supplying Indiana regiments with

ammunition and was further outraged when Lincoln called for 300,000 more troops. Milligan did everything in his power to discourage enlistments.

Milligan was one of the leaders in the Knights of the Golden Circle. The government alleged that after the group had failed to gain support in elections, they planned an armed uprising. In August 1864, military authorities raided the offices of Harrison H. Dodd from Indianapolis and found guns, ammunition, and incriminating documents. Based on this evidence the government charged four men, including Milligan, with conspiracy against the United States, conspiracy to aid the rebellion, and scheming to overthrow the government of the United States. The federal government tried the defendants before a military commission, rather than a civil court. Milligan was found guilty and sentenced to be executed. Milligan then filed an appeal arguing that as a civilian his trial should have taken place in a civilian court. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed that civilians could not be tried in a military court as long as the civil court system continued to function.[41] Milligan returned to practice law in Huntington until 1897; he died in 1899.

Milligan's home on the Little River included a sandstone home, barn, and a small cabin. The home burned, the barn collapsed, and the stone cabin fell into disrepair, but was reconstructed through the efforts of the Huntington County Bar Association to commemorate the landmark decision by the Supreme Court. So with just the evidence of being arrested for treason, and no evidence of any anti-Underground Railroad work, the "slave cabin" can just be seen as a local legend.

WABASH COUNTY

The "Slave Cabin," as it is locally known. No evidence exists supporting the local legend's explanation of its use. (DHPA Photo).

Early town history of Wabash started in 1818 when the Miami Indians and the American government signed the Treaty of St. Mary's. In 1846, the migration of all the Miami Indians began, with the exception of the Godfroy and Richardville families, whose descendents still live in Indiana. By 1830, approximately 41 White families lived in the county by the

1840 federal census, which enumerated 2756 people. No newspapers are in Wabash County until after 1840s.[42] The UGRR was discussed in the county of Wabash in the newspapers starting as early as 1881, which identified two stops on the UGRR, the homes of Augustus A. Peabody and Morris Place. Then in 1964, The Wabash County Historical Museum published an article by then curator Mary O'Hair titled Slavery, The Underground Railroad Movement and Some History, as Related to Wabash County, Indiana. We used these two pieces as the starting point for discussion on this topic in the county. O'Hair's article is footnoted, so her material could be further researched. In her article, she identifies as the key conductor in the county as Daniel Sayre.

Sayre, born June, 1815 in New York, came to Lagro, Indiana in 1832. He wrote several reminisces that helped O'Hair with her research. According to his writings, conductors traveled at night on an indirect route in order to dodge their pursuers. The sparsely settled county made danger of meeting anyone at night very limited.[43] Sayre talked of his neighbors and states that "there were very few of the pioneers who would hide a runaway slave..."[44] But, because of the few number of settlers in the county, the use of trails instead of the main roads, and by traveling at night there was little fear of meeting up with neighbors. He was interviewed for the text The History of Wabash County, Indiana 1884 where he was asked how they traveled unobserved through the county. Sayre stated:

> Well, it was mainly done by traveling at night. There weren't any roads to speak of, just simply a path marked out (we used to call them trails), and by traveling an indirect route, we were able to dodge any pursuers. The county was so sparsely settled that we were in little danger of meeting anybody. I helped a party of twenty slaves once, to North Manchester, who was being closely pursued, but our superior knowledge of the country enabled us to pilot them safely. We had to take a different route for it, however. The party consisted of young men, principally, although there were three women, one of whom had a babe in her arms. At another time, seven fugitives were taken through La Gro, in a big Pennsylvania wagon, ostensibly loaded with lumber, but with runaways stowed away between the lumber and the wagon bed.[45]

In the various newspaper articles, interviews, and reminisces which he wrote, Sayre identified three individuals as having an association with the Underground Railroad between 1843-1848: Fred Kindley of New Holland, Augustus A. Peabody of Lagro, and Maurice Place of North Manchester.[46]

Frederick Kindley lived near Rush Creek just north of New Holland. A Quaker, Kindley settled in Wabash County in 1841.[47] Kindley's daughter, Margaret Kindley Shoemaker, explains her father's activities in a writing held at the Wabash County Historical Museum. Shoemaker tells of several incidents where she spoke with the fugitives staying at their home. She also states that her father's cousin had a station north of their home, but fails to state his name or county of residence. Kindley's activities were also documented in the local county history. Here it states that on his farm, he allowed runaways to stay and hid on his farm. He had no hidden rooms or spaces, but had several dogs that would warn of approaching strangers.[48]

Augustus Peabody lived north of the village of Lagro, approximately seven miles north of Kindley's home.[49] He was born in 1802 in New York and arrived in Wabash County in 1834[50] and became well known in community affairs. He died in 1881. Edward Peabody, Augustus's son, discussed his father's work in a writing also housed at the Wabash County Historical Museum. Edward recalls having seen several freedom seekers in their barn, but the last incident of their barn being used was around 1859.[51] An anonymously written article in the Wabash Weekly Courier in October 1881 also identifies Peabody as someone willing to provide assistance: "To make it more safe, we would put on a good wagon sheet, then store the Chattels back and fill up behind the driver with hay, or stretch up a quilt, and drive to one Peabody's, north of Lagro...."[52] Edward also discussed the work of other men like "Gillispie," who from the writing, appears to be a slave catcher or at least someone willing capture an African American for transportation south.[53] Bill Collins was to guard any runaways housed at Gillispie's, but in one instance the fugitive escaped. This story was related also in a 1927 article by Frank S. Bash, in which he interviewed Edward Peabody. Without a first name, identifying "Gillispie" have proven difficult, but further research will be invaluable to show all sides of the slavery issue in the county.

Maurice Place lived on Maple Street in North Manchester.[54] The Congregational Friends had meeting information published in the The Bugle a weekly abolitionist paper from Ohio (June 184s – May 1861). In this paper "The Quarterly Meeting of Progressive [or Congregational] Friends that met in North Manchester named Mary F. Thomas and Maurice as clerks."[55] An anonymously written article in the Wabash Weekly Courier in October 1881 details information about the Underground Railroad, "To make it more safe would put on a good wagon sheet, then store the Chattels back and fill up behind the driver

with hay, or stretch up a quilt, and drive to one Peabody's, north of Lagro, and then to Morris Place's where North Manchester now is, thence to Thomas Mason's, Leesburg, Kosciusko county, I believe, to Stephen Bogue's in Young's Prairie, Cass county, Michigan, beyond that to Detroit where the poor, panting slaves crossed over into Canada. I know not the names of all the stations on our line.[56] Place, again identified in an article published in the Marion Ledger in 1896 by Nathan Coggeshall (for more information on Coggeshall, see the Grant County Section). Coggeshall when fugitive men came through the area, he accompanied them on horseback to Morris Place in North Manchester. Place was also identified through a letter from John Ratliff of Delaware County to Wilbur Siebert as a person who helped on the Underground Railroad.[57]

William Hayward, identified by Siebert as an Underground Railroad participating, is also identified in the The Bugle as active. In an 1846 letter, Hayward states that the "majority of anti-slavery people in the area supported the Liberty party[58] and thus would not sign an anti-war please he was circulating."[59] Little more is known about this man or his activities.

Along with Underground Railroad activity happening in the county, there were also a number of noted abolitionists. While no evidence exists that these people participated in the illegal activity, their work as abolitionists are important in the entire workings of the Underground Railroad. William Grant of Liberty Township hosted the Church of Christ in his home and was a noted abolitionist. While outspoken abolitionist, Judge Comstock loaned Governor Morton money for war costs, local rumors also have him hiding runaways, but no proof can be found to authenticate this.[60] The Grant family history states that William was anti-slavery and a vocal abolitionist.[61] Another abolitionist was George Abbott, an elder in the Christian Church at Clear Creek and an early preacher in Clear Creek Township (Huntington County).[62] He was born in 1819. He arrived with his parents, James Abbott and Catherine Tillman, in Chester Township (Wabash County) in 1836 when George was seventeen.[63] George was a vehement abolitionist preaching in both Wabash and Huntington Counties. He preached against slavery and supported conductors in any way he could. Local children taunted him with words like "Black Abolitionist" and "Negro Lover."[64]

A name just recently uncovered in a family genealogy papers is that of Isaac T. Sharp. Before this article was discovered, Sharp's name was not found in the list of known UGRR participants. What brief information we know about Sharp comes from his daughter Kate Vance of Penville, Indiana (Jay County)

in an interview about her childhood. She was born in Largo Township in Wabash County in 1852. The family lived near New Holland. Ms. Vance claims that her father, Isaac T. Sharp, participated in UGRR activity, with a $1000 bounty placed for his capture. Her father worked with Frederick Kinley (Kindley), whose activity was discussed earlier in the chapter. She also implicates her uncle Joseph Lewis and another man Jonah Irey of participating.[65] In this interview, she places her uncle Joseph Lewis at the 1846 attack on Frederick Douglass as he gave a speech in Pendleton, Indiana.[66] The autobiography of Frederick Douglass supports her claims of those who were there. Ms. Vance claims that her father, Uncle and Neal Hardy (along with three other men) slipped Douglass away from the mob. Douglas states that he was " soon raised up and revived by Neal Hardy, a kind-hearted member of the Society of Friends, and carried by him in his wagon about three miles in the country to his home, where I was tenderly nursed and bandaged by good Mrs. Hardy till I was again on my feet, but as the bones broken were not properly set my hand has never recovered its natural strength and dexterity."[67] With this brief implication of UGRR activity, we cannot be certain of Sharp's activity, but this does warrant further research.

A name, which needs more research, is that of Mark Stratton, father of novelist Gene Stratton Porter. Gene was born on a farm in Wabash County[68] on August 17, 1863. She became a popular American novelist, remembered for her fiction rooted in rural Indiana. Her family farm is the linked to the UGRR through one of her books. In 1913, she published Laddie: A True Blue Story which is believed to be strongly based on her own life. The narrator, "Little Sister," is a girl who lives on a farm with her older siblings. While Gene was not old enough to remember any UGRR activity, the passage in Laddie could be attributed to his father's work. In the book it states:

> "You know I've always had my suspicions about this place," said Leon. "There is somewhere on our land that people can be hidden for a long time. I can remember well enough before the war ever so long, and while it was going worst, we would find the wagon covered with more mud in the morning than had been on it at night; and the horses would be splashed and tired. Once I was awake in the night and heard voices. It made me want a drink, so I went downstairs for it, and ran right into the biggest, blackest man who ever grew. If father and mother hadn't been there I'd have been scared into fits. Next morning he was gone and there wasn't a whisper. Father said I'd had bad dreams. That night the horses made another mysterious trip. Now where did they keep the black man all that day?"
>
> "What did they have a black man for?"

"They were helping him run away from slavery to be free in Canada. It was all right. I'd have done the same thing. They helped a lot. Father was a friend of the Governor. There were letters from him, and there was some good reason why father stayed at home, when he was crazy about the war. I think this farm was what they called an Underground Station. What I want to know is where the station was."

"Maybe it's here. Let's hunt," I said. "If the black men were here some time, they would have to be fed, and this is not far from the house." So we took long sticks and began poking into the weeds. Then we moved the brush, and sure as you live, we found an old door with a big stone against it. I looked at Leon and he looked at me.

"Hoo-hoo!" came mother's voice, and that was the third call.

"Hum! Must be for us," said Leon. "We better go as soon as we get a littledryer." He slid down the bank on one side, and I on the other, and we pushed at the stone. I thought we never would get it rolled away so we could open the door a crack, but when we did what we saw was most surprising. There was a little room, dreadfully small. but a room. There was straw scattered over the floor, very deep on one side, where an old blanket showed that it had been a bed. Across the end there was a shelf. On it was a candlestick, with a half-burned candle in it, a pie pan with some mouldy crumbs, crusts, bones in it, and a tin can. Leon picked up the can and looked in. I could see too. It had been used for water or coffee, as the plate had for food, once, but now it was stuffed full of money. I saw Leon pull some out and then shove it back, and he came to the door white as could be, shut it behind him and began to push at the stone. When we got it in place we put the brush over it, and fixed everything like it had been.[69]

This passage is the only evidence yet found for stating that Stratton was active on the Underground Railroad. He was an ordained minister and the pastor the Hopewell Church for many years. In 1926, an article from Huntington County has a resident stating that Mr. Stratton was a part of the UGRR. This woman refers to the book Laddie as she discusses the "facts." Yet, this story was refuted in 1927 in another article when Bash interviewed the son of Augustus Peabody, who has been identified earlier in the chapter, about Stratton's involvement.

I thought it might be just as well to inquire whether Mr. Peabody knew Marcus Stratton and family in Lagro Township. I also asked if he was well acquainted with the Pratt folks where the princess lived as mentioned in Gene Stratton Porter's book, Laddie. It would be interesting to hear his views and comment concerning the people who were so prominent in the book.

> Of course I knew all about them, he said. Mark Stratton was real smart old fellow and a mighty good man. He could do a right good job at preaching. Men who used to work for him said that when they would rest, Stratton would tell the stories which they enjoyed hearing. He was smart all right and there's where the girl got some of her talent to write. I never read hardly any of her writings. Id did start to read her book that was supposed to describe the old homestead but quit before getting more than half way through. I found so much that wasn't true that I got plum disgusted.[70]

The comments made by Peabody imply, that while Stratton was a good preacher, he was more of a storyteller too. Did he "tell stories" about the UGRR for his children, which Stratton Porter then adapted into her book Laddie. Peabody implies that there was not truth to her story or the family's involvement in the UGRR. More research is needed before we can say Mark Stratton was active on the UGRR.

Another individual just recently uncovered needs more attention before we can say he participated with the UGRR is Dr. Thomas Antrim, a physician and farmer, was born June 30, 1814, in Clinton County, Ohio. He moved to Wayne County, Indiana when he was six years old. Then we moved to Wabash County in 1836, where he lived until 1853. In the 1883 history of Warren, Benton, Jasper, and Newton Counties, he was described as "formerly a Whig, having given his first vote for Henry Clay; afterward, he became identified with the Anti-slavery party, and was a conductor on the underground railroad. He is now an earnest Republican; was elected Justice of the Peace in 1882, and is the Recorder-elect of this county."[71]

The research compiled above paints a picture of the lives of those living in northern Indiana and the environment that fugitives would have experienced as they travel north. While the vast majority of Wabash and Huntington County citizens, not unlike the views of the rest of the United States, were either vehemently anti-abolition or just unwilling to put their lives in jeopardy for enslaved African Americans, a handful were willing. Despite the hostility and racism found in these counties, there were individuals willing to assist fugitives with either directions, a place to rest, transportation, or protection.

ENDNOTES

[1] Brant & Fuller, History of Huntington County, Indiana: From the Earliest Time, (Chicago: Brant & Fuller, 1887), 315; Doris Chambers, Ghost Towns of Huntington County, (Huntington, Indiana: Self-published, 1971), 48; Frank Summer Bash, Newspaper Columns Published in the Huntington Herald 1922-1926, Volume 1, (Huntington, Indiana: Huntington Public Library, 1990), 69.

[2] Bash, Newspaper Columns, 69.

[3] Dani Tippmann. Interview by Jeannie Regan-Dinius. May 20, 2003.

[4] Brant & Fuller, History of Indiana, 321, 334-336, 402, 407.

[5] *Ibid.*, 350.

[6] Willard Heiss, Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1977), inside front cover.

[7] Brant & Fuller, History of Indiana, 415.

8 *Ibid.*, 417-418.

[9] Charles Beecher, brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe, had a post at the Presbyterian Church in Fort Wayne. It is assumed that he traveled periodically to Huntington to preach to the congregation.

[10] Brant & Fuller, History of Indiana, 419.

[11] Otho Winger, History and Doctrines of the Church of Brethren, (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Publishing House, 1919), 215.

[12] *Ibid.*, 170.

[13] *Ibid.*, 170.

[14] Frank Summer Bash, "Democrat Paper of City in 1860 Was Rabid Anti-Abolition and Lincoln," Huntington Herald Press, 5 August 1922.

[15] Brant & Fuller, History of Indiana, 874.; Bash, Newspaper Columns, 128; "October Election," Indiana Herald, 16 June 1858, p 3, c 2; Beulah Mohart Scott, Index of Combination Atlas Map of Huntington County, Indiana 1879; Complied and drawn and published from personal examinations and surveys by Kingman Brothers, (Huntington, Indiana: Huntington Historical Society, 1979), 10.

[15] Genealogy Division, Indiana State Library, Index to the 1840 Federal Population Census for Indiana, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975), 50.

[16] Scott, Index of Combination Atlas Map of Huntington County, 10.

[17] Brant & Fuller, History of Huntington County, Indiana 1887, (Chicago: Brant and Fuller, 1885), 1877. Luke Scheer, Alphabetical Listing of the Settlers who entered Lands in Huntington County: 1830 – 1853, (Huntington, Indiana: Self-published, 1971).

[18] Spath was born in Wurtemberg, Germany on August 4, 1834. He died June 13, 1938 at age 103. He came to America at age 6. In 1850, he came to Huntington County, Warren Township. In 1862, he joined the army. "Obituary," Huntington Herald Press, 13 June 1938, Obituary card files located at the Indiana Room, Huntington City/ Township Public Library; Bash, "Democrat Paper of City in 1860."

[19] "Arlene Farlow, Mt. Etna: Underground Railroad Stop," Huntington Herald Press, 10 December 1979.

[20] Indiana State Library, *Index 1840 Federal Census Indiana*; Brant & Fuller. *History of Huntington County, Indiana*, 872; Scott, *Atlas of Huntington County*, 25.

[21] "Underground R.R. Station," Huntington Democrat, 1 August 1861, p 3, c 2.

[22] "Donation Party," The Indiana Herald, 5 May 1858, p 2, c 3.

[23] "Union League Meeting Notice," The Indiana Herald, 15 April 15, p 1, c 3.

[24] Thomas Armitage, A History of the Baptists. The American Baptists XVII Bible Translation and Bible Societies, www.fbinstute.com/armitage/ch17.html [accessed February 27, 2004].

[25] Ramseyer-Northern Bible Society Museum Collection, The American Bible Society, www.d.umn.edu/lib/bible/society/displays/199807.htm;#american. [accessed on February 27, 2004].

[26] "Resigned," The Indiana Herald, 16 March 1859, p 2, c 2.

[27] Scott, Reprint Combination Atlas Map of Huntington County Indiana.

[28] Bash, "Democrat Paper of City in 1860.".

[29] "Polk Township Republican Meeting," The Indiana Herald, 28 April 1858, p 2 c 4.

[30] Brant & Fuller, History of Huntington County, Indiana, 741.

[31] Mary O'Hair, Slavery, The Underground Railroad Movement and Some History, as Related to Wabash County, Indiana, (Wabash, Indiana: Wabash Historical Society, 1964), 8.

[32] "Disgraceful Scenes at Warren," Huntington Democrat, 11 June 1863, p 3 c 1.

[33] Indiana Census, 1840, 1850, 1860; Darwin Kelley, Milligan's Fight Against Lincoln, New York: Exposition Press, 1973), 15.

[34] Emma Lou Thornbrough, Indiana in the Civil War 1850-1880, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and the Indiana Historical Society, 1965), 213.

[35] Bash, Newspaper Columns, 205.

[36] *Ibid.*, 205.

[37] *Ibid.*, 414; W.E. Billings, Tales of the Old Days. 1926, 28.

[38] Brant & Fuller, History of Huntington County, Indiana, 567.

[39] Bash, Newspaper Columns, 380.

[40] 1860 Census.

[41] Allan Nevins, The Case of the Copperhead Conspirator, http://www.soc.umn.edu/~samaha/cases/milligan_copperhead_conspirator.htm, [accessed February 16, 2004].

[42] Wabash South Centennial Committee 100 Plus 13, From South Wabash to South Side: 113 Years of Progress, (Wabash, Indiana: Wabash County Centennial Committee, 1976), 173.

[43] O'Hair, Slavery, the Underground Railroad Movement, 6, 8.

[44] *Ibid.*, 6.

[45] T.B. Helm, History of Wabash County, Indiana, 1884.

[46] Wabash South, From South Wabash to South Side, 61.

[47] O'Hair, Slavery, the Underground Railroad Movement, 5.

[48] Helm, Wabash County History, 62.

[49] O'Hair, Slavery, the Underground Railroad Movement, 5.

[50] Bash, Newspaper Columns, 456-457.

[51] *Ibid., 456-457;* O'Hair, Slavery, the Underground Railroad Movement, 6.

[52] Anonymous, "Letter to the Editor of the Courier," The Wabash Weekly Courier, 28 October 1892, p 4, c 3.

[53] O'Hair, Slavery, the Underground Railroad Movement, 6.

[54] *Ibid.,5*, 62.

[55] Peggy Seigel,. Conspiracy Theories and Harder Facts: Newspapers as Sources for the Underground Railroad in Northeastern Indiana. Presented at the Second Annual Underground Railroad Summit August 10, 2002, 16. Copy available at the Department of Natural Resources – Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

[56] Anonymous, "Letter to the Editor of the Courier."

[57] Letter from John Ratcliff to Wilbur Siebert, March 22, 1896. Siebert Collection Microfilms housed at the Indiana State Library, Manuscript Division, 228.

[58] The Liberty Party (1840-48) was created by Abolitionists who believed in political action to further antislavery goals. In opposition to William Lloyd Garrison and his followers (who scorned political activity as both futile and sinful in the battle to end slavery), a group of Abolitionists organized the Liberty Party. They nominated James G. Birney, a Kentuckian and former slaveholder, for president.

[59] Seigel, Conspiracy Theories and Harder Facts, 16.

[60] O'Hair, Slavery, The Underground Railroad Movement, 14.

[61] Wabash South Centennial Committee, From South Wabash to South Side, 194.

[62] Brant & Fuller. History of Huntington County, Indiana 1887. Brant and Fuller: Chicago, 1885, pa 567.

[63] Billings, Tales of the Old Days, 13.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] Edwina Hanlin, Eliza Harris Slept Here: A History of Balbec, Indiana. Compiled from papers collected by Edwina Hanlin, (Machesney Park, IL: William Edmundson, 1997), 7-8; J.B. Lewis and Irey are subjects of interest for UGRR participation in Hamilton County.

[66] In 1843, Douglass took part in "A Hundred Anti-Slavery Conventions." While on a speaking engagement n Pendleton, Indiana, he was attacked by a mob wielding stones and rotten eggs. The platform was town down and in the commotion, Douglass went unconscious and had his hand broken. Supporters shirted him to Westfield, Indiana. Frederick Douglas, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape from Bondage, and His

Complete History to the Present Time: Electronic Edition. Frederick Douglass, 1818-1895. http://docsouth.unc.edu/douglasslife/douglass.html, [accessed September 9, 2004].

[67] Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass.

[68] hopewell is located at about 500 east and 300 north in Wabash County. There is little left but the church and cemetery.

[69] http://www.bsu.edu/ourlandourlit/Literature/Authors/portergs.htm#laddie; Bash, Newspaper Columns, 406.

[70] Bash, Pioneer Relives Old Adventures, April 11, 1937 Newspaper Columns published in the Huntington Herald Press 1927-1931 Vol. 2.

[71] Counties of Warren, Benton, Jasper and Newton, Indiana, Historical and Biographical, Illustrated. (Chicago: F. A. Battey & Co., 1883) Page 583 (Biographical sketches from Keener Township, Jasper County).

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Kankakee & St. Joseph River Valleys of Indiana

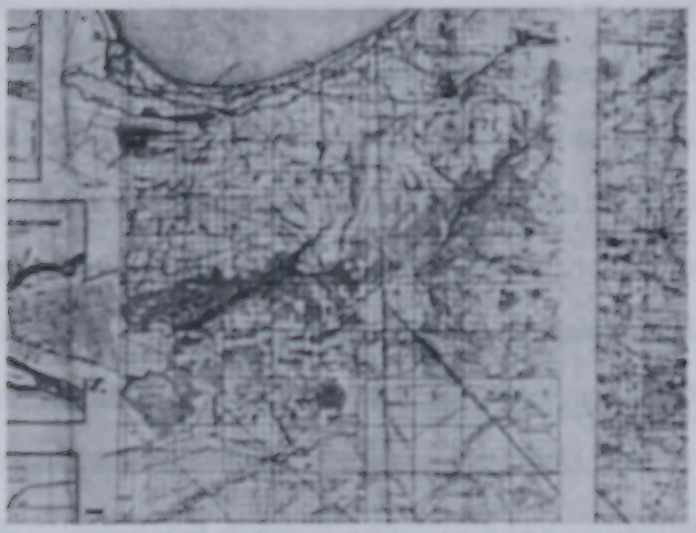
By Terry Goldsworthy

This study combines several arenas of research to assemble an image of the pre-Civil War experiences of the region that affect and were affected by the institution of slavery and the operation and support of the Underground Railroad (UGRR). This is an examination of those who either supported the activities of the UGRR by transporting, sheltering, or caring for the basic necessities (food, clothing, and medicine) for runaways, or those who provided the financial support to safely conduct such runaways to a free land. This is a scrutiny of runaways slave captures and the responses by the local community to the actions of such captures. Finally, this is also a search for possibilities; a listing of areas for further research.

Research on the UGRR has been an ongoing project of mine since 1994. Over the last ten years, multiple sources have been sought out and uncovered, sometimes by accident or by unsolicited individuals. Initially, census records for the region have been copied and in some cases indexed in regard to the African American population as part of a larger research effort into the African American communities of the region. Regional libraries and historical societies have been researched in regard to materials on early African American life and the Underground Railroad; the archives at Earlham College were also investigated in regard to the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends. Ultimately, materials began to surface as in-depth research was conducted on leads from materials from libraries and historical societies. Information on the UGRR and its participants also appeared to me and other local historians from sources not originally explored for their possible content of the UGRR experience (family histories, conversations with genealogists, etc.). The purpose of the research conducted over the last ten years has been not to solely identify stations on the UGRR, but rather on the experiences and ideas/beliefs of individuals involved. The recreation of the UGRR story has taken precedent over the identification of physical remnants of its operation.

Over the ten years, countless individuals have helped with the research. I cannot possibly thank them all, or even remember many of their names. To all those interested in the history of the region, I thank you for your help. Special thanks do need to go to various people, who, without their work, this report would not be possible. I simply name them, they know what they did: Jeannie R. Regan-Dinius, Alex Ratkowski, Jan Shupert-Arick, David Bainbridge, Carol Bainbridge, Fern Eddy-Schultz, and Wilma Gibbs.

The north central and northwestern region of Indiana has several unique pre-Civil War experiences that have directly affect the experiences of the Underground Railroad activity within its parameters: 1) the Great Kankakee Marsh; 2) Lake Michigan; and 3) proximity to a very large free and runaway African American community in Cass and Berrien Counties, Michigan.



Overview 1852 map of region showing lake and swamplands. Map of Indiana compiled from the United States surveys by S. D. King.

Kankakee River Valley

The area of north central and northwestern Indiana is referred to as both the Kankakee River Valley and the St. Joseph River Valley.[1] The Great Kankakee marshlands of Indiana and Illinois consisted of over one million acres of swampland. Charles Bartlett poetically described the marshlands in his 1904 book, Tales of Kankakee Land:

> More than a million acres of swaying reeds, fluttering flags, clumps of wild rice, thick-crowding lily-pads, soft beds of cool green mosses, shimmering ponds and black mire and trembling bogs—such is Kankakee Land. These wonderful fens, or marshes, together with their wide-reaching lateral extensions, spread themselves over an area far greater than that of the Dismal Swamp of Virginia and North Carolina. Their vastness, their silence, their misty haze, and their miry depths make them the very realm of forgetfulness and oblivion.[2]

Despite its beauty, the Kankakee marshlands are often referenced in relation to the transportation hindrances they posed. Powell A. Moore described the affects of the marshland upon the Calumet Region in 1904:

> The Great Kankakee Marsh to the south handicapped the movement of people from that direction. The marsh was from three to five miles wide, and the depth of its water was from one to four feet deep for eight or nine month of each year. Few people ever saw the Kankakee River except in times of severe droughts or in the winter when the marsh was frozen over.[3]

ROUTES THROUGH INDIANA AND MICHIGAN IN 1848.

In the personal memoirs of William Graham, an itinerant Methodist preacher in Northern Indiana in the 1850s, wrote: "Traveling the District from La Porte as a starting point, it was divided into two parts by the almost impassable Kankakee River and swamps."[4] When you observe the Lewis Falley's map of major UGRR routes in Indiana in 1848 you notice a sharp eastern turn in the route leading from Rensselear north as if to avoid the Great Kankakee Swamplands.[5] The southern border of Lake County, Indiana was occupied, as shown in the above 1852 King map, with "Deep Marsh & Timber Islands" and no roads traversed this area on the 1852 map.

Deep Marsh & Timber Islands in southern Lake County along Kankakee River, 1852

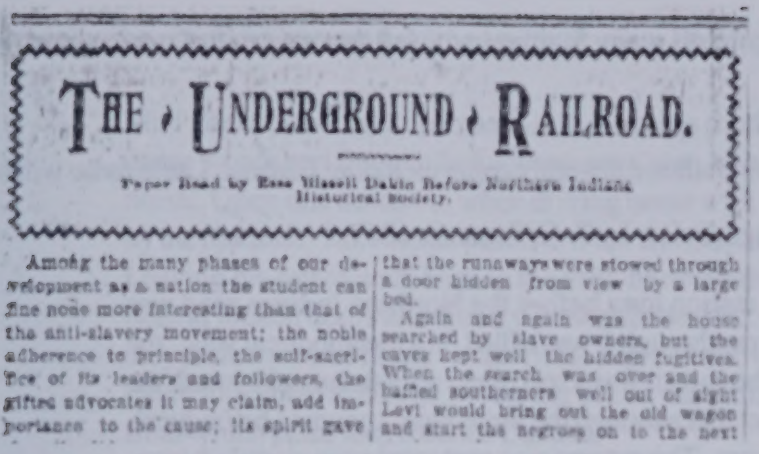
One important crossing of the Kankakee swamplands is along what is known today as U.S. 421. The New Albany & Salem Railroad was constructed through the Kankakee marsh connecting Michigan City and Lafayette by 1853.[6] William Graham wrote in his memoirs about the one method of transportation across the Kankakee Marsh: "This [the Kankakee Marsh] I crossed on the L. & N. A. [Louisville and New Albany] railroad from Westville, or Otis to Medaryville and other points south and west."[7] The New Albany & Salem Railroad became the Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago Railroad in 1859.[8] Any movement, either by an organized UGRR group or by a lone person would be hindered by the marsh.

Cass County, Michigan's Free African American Population

The propinquity of this region of Indiana to the large African American population in Cass County, Michigan accounted for many experiences shared across the state line. These shared Michigan-Indiana experiences were the existence of runaways living amongst a large free African American population in Cass County that undoubtedly traversed through northwest and north central Indiana. One such shared experience was the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849 (which will be detailed later in this section) concerned the capture of runaways residing in Cass County, Michigan by southern slave catchers. The capture was aborted in St. Joseph County, Indiana and tried in court in South Bend, Indiana. Cass County has been referred to as a "pivotal" junction of the UGRR in the Midwest, because two "lines" converged in Cass County: the "Quaker Line" from the Ohio River which was composed of Quaker families in Indiana and Michigan began operation prior to 1840 and the "Illinois Line" which originated at the Mississippi River and began operation in 1842 with John Cross as "projector."[9] Cass County, Michigan was also home to a large Society of Friends population and a very large Society of Anti-Slavery Friends. Many Cass County members of the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends were involved as conductors and supporters of the UGRR and likewise involved in aborting the two known fugitive slave captures in Cass County, Michigan. Associated with the Young's Prairie Society of Anti-Slavery Friends Monthly Meeting in Cass County, Michigan were the two meetings of the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends in La Porte and Porter Counties in Indiana.[10] These meetings houses were part of the Northern Region of the Indiana Society of Anti-Slavery Friends.[11]

1899 Address to the Northern Indiana Historical Society

The earliest known collection documenting the local UGRR experience was assembled near the turn of the 20th Century. Esse Bissell Dakin addressed the Northern Indiana Historical Society in 1899 with her lecture entitled the "The Underground Railroad in Northern Indiana." Within her speech, she offers a detailed account of the experiences of UGRR conductors and supporters, route development, and the fugitive slave captures in Cass County.[12] The South Bend Daily Tribune printed her original speech on April 25, 1899. In 1939, Helen Hibberd Windle assembled a fifteen-page document of Dakin's lecture;[13] Windle did though change some of the content of the original lecture.



THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

Paper Read by Esse Bissell Dakin Before Northern Indiana Historical Society.

Among the many phases of our development as a nation the student can find none more interesting than that of the anti-slavery movement; the noble adherence to principle, the self-sacrifice of its leaders and followers, the gifted advocates it may claim, add importance to the cause; its spirit gave that the runaways were stowed through a door hidden from view by a large bed.

Again and again was the house searched by slave owners, but the eaves kept well the hidden fugitives. When the search was over and the baffled southerners well out of sight Levi would bring out the old wagon and start the negroes on to the next

Headline of Esse Bissell Dakin's Underground Railroad Research from the South Bend Dail Tribune, April 25, 1899.

St. Joseph County, Indiana Professor Siebert and the "Direct Route Through South Bend"

In the 1899 article, Dakin quotes Professor Wilbur Siebert of Ohio State University who found "no conclusive evidence that a direct route came through South Bend and this is corroborated by our oldest residents." An unnamed Illinois minister who organized UGRR stations in this region, "came to South Bend to find an agent, but he said he found all the abolitionists too cautious to incur the penalties of law, as the feelings against them was intense and bitter and detection would surely follow, so the minister passed on to Bertrand."[14] Dakin is referring to Bertrand, Michigan on the Michigan-Indiana state line. Despite Siebert's and the unnamed minister's assessment, Dakin continues her lecture by listing active supporters and conductors of the Underground Railroad.

The arrival of the unnamed Illinois minister surely occurred before the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849 when local residents were active in the aborting of a fugitive slave capture and the subsequent legal proceedings. The environment of South Bend obviously changed from "too cautious" during the decade of the 1840s to active participation. In explaining the social and political environment, Dakin writes: "Nevertheless staunch abolitionists were in our midst who aided many a fugitive to freedom. They acted independently of each other for the most part, for in those troublesome times no one knew whom to trust."[15] Dakin does later in her lecture give an account of local South Bend resident Aaron Webster regarding the participation of local residents in the UGRR. "Mr. Webster said no investment pleased him better than his stock in the Underground Railroad and he corroborated the opinion of the other abolition-

ists here that though we were not a direct route, many fugitives who left the main routes were assisted by our citizens."[16]

The "no direct route" belief is contradicted several people including Elkonah Lamb (who will be discussed later in the section) and at length below by T. G. Turner in 1867.

> South Bend was a railroad station long before the Northern Indiana road was thought of. The road which ran through it was called, in a metaphorical way, "the underground railroad;" not because it was a sort of miraculous tunnel beneath the soil, but on account of the fact that although the trains were known to be frequent, very few persons ever saw them. The enterprising managers were singularly nocturnal in their habits, and a large proportion of the passengers appeared to have been under the rule of the 'ebon throne.' It was liberally patronized, but the dividends to stockholders were 'few and far between.' It is said, however, that a large amount is placed to their credit in a divinely chartered savings bank, where moth doth not corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal. Its operations were carried on, it must be confessed, in opposition to law—that is to say, the fugitive slave law; and if slavery should turn out, after all, to have a been a divine institution, as many contend it will, then it must be conceded that it defied "God, man, and the devil." At any rate, its business was large, if not profitable; and, although the dividends were small, the assessments were sometimes frightfully large. One fine morning the booming of cannon was heard in Charleston harbor in South Carolina; and at the same moment this railroad vanished, like the gossamer web of the fairies at the crowing of the cock. As Byron died, according to the pious Pollock, because there was no more to drink, so this extraordinary institution became defunct on account of the sudden falling off of that peculiar traffic which gave it vitality. South Bend has, however, her experiences in the business; whether they were sweet or bitter is a question which may be safely left to the determination of individual tastes.[17]

Solomon and Sarah Palmer

Solomon Palmer arrived in South Bend in the early 1840s from Rochester, New York. Prior to his arrival in South Bend, Solomon Palmer was an active abolitionist in New York; "twice his life was endangered by angry mobs and he received scars which he carried to his grave." "He was in full sympathy with the martyred John Brown and letters passed between them. On the ill fated day, Dec. 2, 1859, when the soul of John Brown took its flight, on the scaffold, the Palmer house was darkened and the family gathered in silence and sorrow during the hour of execution." His home was located on Michigan Street north of the Grand Truck Railroad before it a business district displaced the house; the mill he owned south of the city

was also the site of underground railroad activity. Esse Dakin provides an account of these activities:

> Mr. Palmer owned and operated a mill ten miles south of South Bend in the midst of dense woods and frequently fugitives were seen by him dodging about in the underbrush. Upon one occasion, when driving home with his son, they saw three negroes by the roadside. Mr. Palmer called to them and they were quick to recognize a friend. Leaving his son to walk back to the mill, he drove the fugitives to his home where, behind locked doors and closely drawn shades, Mr. Palmer gave them supper and they rested several hours. Later in the night he drove them to Niles, where Mr. La Pierre took them in charge, procuring tickets and putting them on the train for Detroit from which point they reached Canada. [18]

Lamb Family

The Esau and Elizabeth Lamb family resided in the Olive Branch Neighborhood. A large part of what we know of the Lamb family's involvement in the UGRR is derived from the autobiography Memories of the Past and Thoughts of the Future written by their son, Elkonah Lamb in 1906. It is presumed that the following excerpt occurs between 1844 and 1848:

> Several years previous to this conversation, when pulpit and press tried to sanctify slavery as a divine institution, my father kept a station on the "underground railroad," which assisted fugitives from the South on their way to freedom. We then lived nine miles from South Bend and sixteen miles from the Michigan line, where colored people were free. Many escaped from Kentucky and Virginia, following the North Star until they reached Michigan. The main route led by our home, my father being a self-appointed agent at this station. He did not receive any great remuneration, but held this office by virtue of a higher court of human rights, and thanks and everlasting gratitude were the coin he received from fugitives fleeing from the grievous lash of unfeeling, inhuman taskmasters—masters of cruelty, vice, and immorality, sometimes selling their own flesh and blood, their own offspring from the auction block, as witnessed in St. Louis when there several years since. One morning, while holding this office, some covered wagons drove up to the house, and a gentleman came in to ascertain if the coast was clear. A few words with father (mainly spoken in cipher) settled the matter to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. Then the unloading commenced. These fugitives were from Kentucky. For weeks they had hidden by day and traveled by night, guided by the North Star, seeking the State of Michigan, where they could enjoy human rights and freedom. As the black exodus was going forward, our black dog was intently watching the procession, not understanding what this demonstration meant. Finally, he seemed to think that our salvation demanded immediate action, and as one of these woman of sable hue was descending from the wagon, he mad a threatening charge for her. She exclaimed, logically: "You jes' get out oh de way, sir, fo' you black as de ace ob spades, yo'se' f. What fo' you want to quarrel wif me ?" The dog was called off, and these fugitives were soon eating a hearty and welcome breakfast fur-

nished by father and prepared by mother, for neither of them were afflicted with selfishness. After a brief rest for themselves and horses, the train moved on towards freedom's shrine, which they reached that evening, and where they were made welcome by former friends who had escaped over the same route. Here was quite a colony of former slaves, close to Niles, Michigan, living in their peaceful cabins, cultivating little patches of ground, worshiping God and singing songs of freedom, as all mankind have an inherent right to do, oppressive laws to the contrary notwithstanding. [19]

Reverend E. J. Lamb. Photo courtesy of Jan Shupert-Arick, Lamb descendent.

James Washington.

James Washington and Matthew Sawyer

James Washington and Matthew Sawyer were both African Americans who resided and maintained barber shops in South Bend before the Civil War. Both men were solicitors and conductors on the Underground Railroad. Esse Dakin provides us with one account of their solicitation and their transportation of runaways. She states that "when they silently extended an open palm, its significance was understood and the appeal met with generous response." [20] Dakin continues with an account of solicitation by Matthew Sawyer of Aaron Webster.

> Mr. Aaron Webster relates that upon one occasion when passing Sawyer's barbershop with his son, Jerome, then a mere lad, Mr. Sawyer stopped him and whispered a few words, upon which Mr. Webster put his hand in his pocket and drew out some money which he gave to Sawyer. The little Jerome, as they

> passed on, childlike, insisted upon knowing why his father gave money to the barber and not daring to tell the truth, Mr. Webster said, "Oh, the barber is a worthy man and I thought he might need a little money." The truth was not far away. In a haymow was concealed a fugitive whose master was even then at the old St. Joe House, so hot was his pursuit Mr. Webster's money obtained a livery rig and that night, while his master slept, the slave was driven to Niles, put on a passing train, and was a free man when his master awoke next morning.[21]

The writings of Charles Bartlett, whose father owned the Bartlett bakery and store on Washington Avenue between Main Street and Michigan Avenue, provide us with a personal account of the UGRR activity in South Bend:

> He knew that there was some 'underground railroad' activity here, in which both white sympathizers and local negroes played a part; knew, in fact, of incidents involving a barber shop near the Bartlett store, where fugitives were hidden until darkness made further flight safe.
>
> At length a number of slaves running away from the same plantation got safely to our town and were hidden in the rooms adjoining J. B. Lot's barbershop. There was an alley running along the east wall of our store buildings, and the front entrance to Lot's shop was the second door from the alley. Lot was a free man of color, and was full of sympathy for the unfortunate people of his race. The open ground behind Lot's shop and the other buildings was shut off from the alley by a high board fence, and one of the boards was loose so as to serve as a gate. During the day the runaways remained in their comfortable lodgings. To the writer's certain knowledge they had food consisting of milk, bread, pie, coffee and other substantials. After midnight a farmer's wagon loaded with straw entered the alley and came to a stop a little beyond the loose board, and when the way was clear the fugitives came out one by one. They crept to the fence and past the loose board, and climbing up on the farmer's wagonload they hid in the straw. The farmer drove away and took the road to a Michigan town where they would be concealed for another day.[22]

Bartlett's description of Underground Railroad activity above his parent's bakery and grocery describes a John B. Lott. John B. Lott is not listed in the 1860 census and does not purchase property until 1865. Noting the reliability of such census and property records, indeed John B. Lott may have been the correct conductor that Bartlett details Underground Railroad activity.[23] The Bartlett family of South Bend played a pivotal role in soliciting funds for the Underground Railroad. Within a year after the completion of their home in 1851, Harriet Beecher Stowe published Uncle Tom's Cabin. Elizabeth Bartlett soon organized a women's literary society to discuss the novel, although her actual intent was to raise funds for the

Underground Railroad. No evidence exists that the Bartlett family transported runaways from the home. However, the aforementioned Matthew Sawyer maintained a barbershop near the Bartlett family's grocery and bakery.[24] The location of the barbershops of two influential conductors on the Underground Railroad to the Bartlett grocery and bakery is no coincidence.[25]

Bartlett Home in South Bend. DHPA Photo

Abolitionist Supporters

Dakin mentions several "Active Supporters in South Bend" as abolitionists and contributors to the Underground Railroad between the years of 1840 and 1850. These residents include: Leander B. Newton (mason), Almond Bugbee (tanner and currier), Eliakim Briggs (mechanist), Joseph L. Jernegan (attorney at law), and Aaron Webster (farmer). Dakin is not forthcoming whether the above-mentioned men were actual conductors. Dakin states that "not all of the gentlemen mentioned harbored fugitives or conducted them to places of safety, but they contributed money and then, as now, the success of any undertaking depended largely upon the amount of money at hand."

Included in her listing of "Active Supporters" are the names of men and families that we know were conductors on the Underground Railroad. These include Edward Crocker, Thomas B. and William F. Bulla, and the aforementioned Solomon and Sarah Palmer family. [26]

Edward B. Crocker, an "active supporter," was described further by Dakin as "one of the most prominent abolitionists in South Bend and his name was known to workers on the routes both east and west." Outside of Edward B. Crocker's prominent involvement in the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849, Dakin only alludes to his work as a conductor.[27] The May, 1847 edition of the Colonizationist in an article entitled "The Under Ground Rail Road" blatantly describes Edward B. Crocker as a conductor who when confronted with the illegal activity of the Underground Railroad "acknowledge it and glory in it."[28] In an interview with Mrs. B. R. Thomas, President of the Thomas Commercial School in South Bend, Indiana Thomas relates the following regarding Crocker, "Edward Crocker, attorney who so nobly defended the slaves, during South Bend's Fugitive Slave Case in 1849 maintained a secret room in his home, This home was considered one of the town's finest houses, being an all dawled house, constructed without nails, he gave of his money, time and protection. He was one of the strongest of Abolitionists."[29]

> the pulpit, of the abolition school, now deny that they are identified with this outrageous secret conclave, which carries on its work in the dark, when honest, law abiding men are asleep? They cannot. The more frank and honest of them do not pretend to deny it, but like *Mr. Crocker* of South Bend, "*acknowledge it and glory in it.*"
>
> In our late debates with *Mr. Harding* and *Judge Stevens*, they both denied that the said "Rail Road" had any connection with their party or people: but when we produced the

Colonizationist article, May 1847.

Bulla Family

The Bulla Farmhouse, north of South Bend, on the campus of Notre Dame was a station. Dakin details an account by the Thomas H. Bulla, the son of Thomas P. Bulla, of a runaway being transported by his father around 1856:

> One evening in early autumn a knock came on the door as the family sat at supper in the Bulla farmhouse in Clay township and upon opening the door a man asked if Mr. Bulla lived there. Being answered in the affirmative, he asked Mr. Bulla to step outside a moment. Young Tom followed close by his father's side and saw a wagon box turned upside down. In this space were two negroes who were being carried northward. The man in charge had stopped for food and rest, having been told that Mr. Bulla was an abolitionist. Assistance was generously given and the party proceeded on its lonely dark drive toward freedom.[30]

Thomas Bulla home on the campus of the University of Notre Dame. (DHPA photo).

Recent research has discovered that the Bulla family has a long tradition of involving themselves in the freedom of escaping slaves. William Bulla and Andrew Hoover (the father and grandfather of Thomas P. Bulla) were arrested in Wayne County for assisting a fugitive escape from jail. For a more detail account of this event, see the court record section of this report.

Colonel Adam Schillinger Baker

The discovery of Colonel Adam Schillinger Baker as a conductor on the Underground Railroad occurred as a result of sporadic transcribing of handwritten depositions from the Fugitive Slave Case of 1849. The below page of deposition transcriptions contains the statement: "The negroes who had these were seen at the American Hotel." This statement lead us the obituary of one owner of the American Hotel, Colonel Adam Schillinger Baker, which detailed his activity on the Underground Railroad.[31] Baker's activity as a conductor is detailed below from his obituary:

> Col. Baker, before his advanced age, was connected with many of South Bend's important enterprises. For a number of years he was proprietor of the famous American Hotel, which stood at the corner of Michigan and Washington Streets....Among other interesting events which Mr. Baker used frequently to relate were those concerning the secreting of run-away slaves, and assisting them across the border. Associated with him in this were, among others, Solomon Palmer, Amable La Pierre, Almond Bugbee, Judge Peter B. Johnson, and Eliakim Briggs, all long since dead.[32]

Of the five men listed in "the secreting of run-away slaves," all but one (Judge Peter B. Johnson) has been identified in other sources as active participants on the Underground Railroad. One of six pallbearers at Colonel Adam Schillinger Baker's funeral was "T. H. Bulla". T. H. Bulla was the son of Thomas P. Bulla, an Underground Railroad conductor in St. Joseph County.

The Clinton Division and Clear Lake Society of Friends

The area of Clinton and New Durham Townships (in western La Porte County) and Jackson Township (in eastern Porter County) was an vigorous UGRR area. This area was home to the Clear Lake Society of Friends meeting house (later the Clear Lake Society of Anti-Slavery Friends) near Westville and a stated anti-slavery congregation assembled in Clinton Township, La Porte County as the Union Church. The New Albany & Salem Railroad also passed through this area on its way from Lafayette to Michigan City. The New Albany & Salem Railroad was completed from Michigan City to Lafayette in 1853. In 1859 the New Albany & Salem Railroad was renamed the Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago Railroad.[33] Siebert lists the L. N. A. & C. (Louisville, New Albany, and Chicago) Railroad as an UGRR

route. "The New Albany and Salem Railroad had several cars fitted with a small room in one end of the car with a small blind door opening into it ... Frequently one or more runaway slaves would be brought to Michigan City in these cars."[34] Another station in this area, the Abijah Bigelow house, is listed on Siebert's map as "Bigelow's Mills."

Newspaper Accounts

Two newspaper articles provide a basis for our understanding of the Underground Railroad in the Clinton Division-Clear Lake region. Esse Bissell Dakin wrote the first article entitled "The Underground Railroad." The second article also entitled "The Underground Railroad" is derived from the La Porte County Historical Society archives; it is undated and the newspaper source is not listed. It is marked "Copied from the Scrapbook of Mrs. Jane Cathcart Johnson." This article is singed F. G. S.; researchers assert that the author (F. G. S.) is Frank G. Scarborough.

Dakin Article:

> Another route through the western part of Northern Indiana passed near Wanatah and Westville in Laporte county. The stations were probably organized through Illinois into Indiana by the preacher to whom reference has been made earlier in this article.
>
> The station at Westville was the home Jonathan Williams and his son, Azariah Williams, acted as conductor when his father was unable to do the work. Other workers in that vicinity between the years 1840 18s0 were Levi Reynolds and sons, Lemuel Maulsby and sons, Richard Williams and sons and William Barnard. There was a settlement of Friends near the present site of Westville and they were all abolitionists, keeping open doors for fugitive slaves and giving liberally of time and money to the cause.
>
> About 1850 this route was changed to one farther west, and then this branch of the road was seldom used. From Jonathan William's the fugitives were taken to Perrin Scarborough's, three miles north of Wanatah, to William Lee's on the north side of Terre Coupe prairie and some times to a settlement of Friends on Young's prairie, Michigan. During the first year this route was operated, the work was kept a profound secret and the nearest neighbors of the agents had no suspicion of the existence of active abolitionists in their vicinity. One of Perrin Scarborough's sons related that at one time his older brothers, in passing along the road, were accosted by a neighbor who inquired with what they were loaded,

and having, as a precaution, covered the slaves, with hides, which were to be taken to a tannery, promptly answered "hides," which was true in more than one sense.

Prominent workers near Wanatah, besides the Scarborough family, were Herbert Williams and son, William Niles and the Rev. Wolcott Williams, now a minister in Charlotte, Michigan. This western route was never followed as far north as Laporte county by the negro trailers, and negroes often remained for some weeks working for the abolitionists.

The Quaker, Charles Osborn, who is said to have published the first unconditional emancipation paper in the United States, lies buried in the Friends cemetery three miles west of Westville.

Unknown author - "The Underground Railroad"

In a late number of The La Porte Republican, I noticed a reference to an underground railroad through this section of the country that was established in 1840, for the purpose of piloting fugitive slaves from the land of bondage to the land of freedom. In perusing that item, it reminded me of those early times when I was connected with that line as a conductor. All the trips were invariably made in the night time, and the distance from station to station was about 2s miles. The first station from here towards the promised land was northeast, near the Michigan line. This was called the Clinton division, and was kept by a Scotchman named Russell. He was a staid Presbyterian. Among the principal operators in Clinton Township were Herbert Williams and family, William Niles and Perrin Scarborough, Sr. and family. The other conductors and agents on the line through Clinton were Levi Reynolds and son, Thomas C., Jonathan Williams and his son, Azariah. These two sons are now, and have been for many years, residents of Westville.

On one of those notable night runs on this road, I vividly remember a circumstance that took place one night about 12 o'clock, near Door Village. We were hailed by some strangers who wanted to know what we had in our wagon. We informed them it was hides and then hastening on to the station, left them in profound ignorance of the real contents of our cargo. The slaves were lying down on a bed and covered with hides. The agent of the division was a farmer, as well as a tanner by trade, and we often took beef hides along for sale, which answered for a covering for the fugitives as well.

In those days of slavery it was considered a crime by the laws of the county to harbor, or feed, or in any way aid a slave to escape from bondage. Therefore it was absolutely necessary that such work should be kept a profound secret. Even the youngest member of the family, who would see the slaves come and go, and help feed and secrete them during the item of their stay with us, dared not

> lisp a word whereby the least knowledge could be obtained of such transaction by persons outside the family circle.
>
> The number of fugitive slaves brought to our house at a time was from two to six, and sometimes we would keep them for a number of days. During the night we generally held them secreted in the chamber and out houses. On very hot days they would be placed out in the cornfield. There are persons living in this county to-day who were working for us in harvesting grain, and eating at our table, while fugitive slaves were secreted near by, and they never suspected such beings were within hundreds of miles of them. It seems quite wonderful now how such night runs could be so often made over the public highways of this county, and none of our nearest and most intimate neighbors were at all suspicious of such doings. F. G. S. [35]

Union Church

In 1840, the Union Church was established in Clinton Township and remained in existence until 1850. The congregation members were very anti-slavery, many of whom were listed by both Siebert and Dakin as Underground Railroad station conductors. On October 9, 1843, the Union Church adopted the resolution: Resolved that we believe the laws of the State by their complexion and unrighteousness in the highest degree and ought to be immediately abolished. Resolved that we believe the system of American Slavery a Sin against God and the greatest wrong that can be inflicted upon man that it ought to be immediately and unconditionally abolished. [36]

Less than a year later, on August 24th, 1844, the congregation adopted the following resolution: "That we will not knowingly admit to our Pulpit, Communion or Fellowship any person who holds slaves or justifies Slaveholding in others." Members of the Union Church congregation that have been listed in other sources as involved in the Underground Railroad include: Abijah Bigelow, William Niles, Perrin Scarborough Sr., Frank Scarborough (son of Perrin Scarborough Sr.), Herbert Williams, Wolcott Williams (son of Herbert Williams), William Willson.[37]

Abijah Bigelow

Abijah Bigelow arrived in Michigan City in 1836. In 1837, aided by Herbert Williams, he built a gristmill and a sawmill. Abijah and Mercy Bigelow lived in a log home with Lucy and Herbert Williams.

The Williams-Bigelow home became a station on the UGRR. Family tradition states the Bigelows knew William Lloyd Garrison, which strengthened their antislavery convictions. The family story about the UGRR activity goes that an individual would come to the home and Mercy Bigelow received the "company." The fugitives would be quickly taken in for rest and nourishment. In the early evening, they went to the next stop near La Porte.[38]

Society of Friends

The earliest Society of Friends meeting in this area is believed to be the Clinton Preparative Meeting whose origins reach back to August of 1841 when Joel East was appointed to a committee to visit Door Prairie to set up a Preparative Meeting called Clinton.[39] In 1843, the Clinton Meeting is listed as a Worship and Preparative Meeting under the Young's Prairie (Anti-Slavery) Meeting. In January of 1844, the Clinton Preparative Meeting was laid down[40] "because most of the Friends had gone with the separating party."[41] In 1844, the Clear Lake Worship Meeting is listed under the Young's Prairie Meeting. The Society of Anti-Slavery Friends was established one year prior in 1843.[42] Both the Society of Anti-Slavery Friends and its member meeting house, the Clear Lake Society of Anti-Slavery Friends lasted until 1856.[43] The dedicated beliefs of the members of this community followed them to the grave. Rachel Williams, wife of Richard Williams, died in 1849. The clothing in which she was to buried in was topic in her memorial. Rachel was opposed to any goods in which slave labor was used, especially her clothing. Her family assured her that upon her death, her burial clothes would not be made by "free labor."[44]

Jonathon Williams and Levi Reynolds were both readout on September 4, 1847 of the Birch Lake Monthly Meeting for joining the Anti-Slavery Society. The nearest Anti-Slavery Friends meeting was the Young's Prairie Monthly Meeting in Cass County, Michigan. Young's Prairie Monthly Meeting was part of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends.

Charles Osborn

Charles Osborn was an internationally know leader in the anti-slavery movement. "He was one of the earliest and most extreme of the abolition preachers."[45] He was the publisher of The Philanthropist

newspaper, the first known newspaper to "advocate the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation."[46] Osborn was early advocate of "the doctrine of the impropriety of using the products of slave labor" and in 1833 he was chosen as the Indiana delegate to the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London, England.[47] Did Charles Osborn conduct a station on the Underground Railroad? Evidence exists that the Osborn family participated in UGRR activity in Michigan, but we have no evidence that he conducted a station while living in Porter County. Reverend Jacob Cummings of Columbus, Ohio in September of 1894 stated that Charles was "in charge" in the West Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan area of the Underground Railroad and shared this "charge" with Zachariah Osborn.[48] Charles resided in the region from 1842 to his death in 1850. His gravesite marker at Quakerdom Cemetery in Jackson Township, Porter County, Indiana was removed from the cemetery and is located at the Porter County Historical Society in Valparaiso, Indiana.

New Albany & Salem Railroad

In the spring of 1856 Samuel Harris called on Stephan Newhall, master mechanic of the Michigan Central Railroad, in Detroit, to apply for a job on the railroad. He was sent to Michigan City to work in the repair shop under Thomas Cobb, master mechanic for the western division that ran from Michigan City to Chicago. In a short time, young Harris was in charge of part of the roundhouse. He boarded at the home of Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Roberts on the northwest corner of 9th and Pine streets. Roberts was superintendent of the western division and became a mayor of Michigan City in 1863 serving two terms. Early in this century, Harris quit the railroad and went to Chicago where he founded Samuel Harris & Company, a tool supply firm. In 1910, he published a pamphlet entitled "Early Railroading in Michigan and Wisconsin."[49] A portion of Samuel Harris' 1910 pamphlet (below) describes activity along the New Albany & Salem Railroad in Michigan City.

> The depot in Michigan City was on the south side of the Michigan Central tracks. The New Albany and Salem railroad (later Monon) came in on the south side of the depot. The New Albany and Salem railroad had several cars fitted up with a small room in one end of the car with a small blind door opening into it. Frequently one or more runaway slaves would be brought to Michigan City in these cars. The baggage car would be left right by the door of the baggage room until it was dark. Then the runaway slaves would be put into a small room in the depot and kept there until

a train on the Michigan Central came along with a car fitted up to take them to Detroit, where they were put in a boat and sent over to Canada.

One evening Mr. Roberts came to my room after supper and said if I would go to the depot he would show me a Bight. We walked down and went into the baggage room, which was dimly lighted. After looking all around to see that nobody was looking, we moved several trunks from the partition; he then unlocked a small blind door and we stepped into a small room. After he had shut the door and lit a candle I saw a colored man and his wife with their boy about twelve years old. They were very light colored and finely built. They were very scared for fear they would be captured, but Mr. Roberts assured them that everything was all right, and that the train was nearly due that would take them to Detroit.

Mr. Roberts had telegraphed to Chicago to have a baggage car on the Michigan Central evening train that had a room in it. They were given a good supper. Soon the train came and they ran into the car unseen except by us.

The next morning they reached Detroit all safe, and were put in a rowboat and taken over to Canada. This was one of the underground railways before the war, arld as far as I ever heard was not known to anyone except those who were friendly to slaves and to the underground road to Canada.[50]

Daniel Low

Daniel Low arrived in Michigan City in May of 1835 where he "carried on a mercantile business and land agency" until about 1838. In 1842, he rented 160 acres of land for five years on sections 13 and 18 in Coolspring Township. He purchased this land and in "1858 he erected a large two-story brick residence." In a manuscript entitled "Low Cemetery-Coolspring Township," Gladys Bull Nicewarner wrote that Low became involved in the UGRR. He helped to smuggle individuals on board grain boats at the Michigan City harbor; at times, because of bounty hunters they took the fugitives to New Buffalo, Michigan for the placement upon boats there. Nicewarner goes on to tell the Gene McDonald family tradition that his mother often told him. When his mother was a child, she and her sister were returning from school when they saw a wagon covered with hay and containing three fugitives. The driver of the wagon threatened the girls by "telling them if they every uttered a word of what they had seen, he'd skin them alive!" Nicewarner also stated that "sometimes the slaves were used to work in the potato fields while they were waiting to get passage on one of the boats. Two became ill on their long journey from the south and were buried in unmarked graves in the Low cemetery. It is believed that approximately one

hundred and fifty slaves were transported from Low's station."[51] Identification of runaway burials in the Low Cemetery has not been verified in any other source or via exhuming. For now, these stories can only be seen as local legend.

Teegarden-Dakin

Siebert lists in 1898 that a "Dr. George M. Dakin" as an UGRR operator in La Porte County,[52] but this is not possible as Dr. George M. Dakin did not arrive to La Porte County until 1862 when "he was induced to come to La Porte and take up the practice of Dr. Teegaren, who wished to retire."[53]

> Dr. Dakin spent his boyhood and early manhood in a locality and during a period in which strong characters were developed and history was made, for Clinton county, Ohio, was at that time a hotbed of abolition sentiment and his parents, their relatives and other intimate friends were strong anti-slavery exponents in practice as well as theory. The Doctor's father took a deep interest in the movement which became known as the underground railroad, and on his first trip, while aiding negroes who were making their way from the Ohio river to Canada, he was accompanied by his son George, who was then a boy and who afterward made several trips of this kind on his own account. They experienced many stirring difficulties in secreting negroes from their pursuing masters, and in getting them to their destination. From the Doctor's earliest boyhood up to the time the Civil War was inaugurated, life in Clinton County was attended with excitement and momentous events, presage in the great coming conflict. He took a great interest in these affairs and eagerly read such papers as the National Intelligencer, National Era, National Anti-Slavery Standard, Boston Liberator and the Cincinnati Philanthropist. In addition to the knowledge he thus gained he met and heard some of the noted abolitionist of that day, including William Lloyd Garrison, Salmon P. Chase and the members and students of the faculty of the Cincinnati Theological Seminary, who were very prominent in the anti-slavery crusade.[54]

George M. Dakin was, however, identified as an active participant in the UGRR as a young resident of Ohio. Dr. Abraham Teegarden however is noted as a participant in the Underground Railroad in the four volume La Porte, Indiana: History of First Hundred Years. Volume two states the following: "Dr. Abraham Teegarden was an outstanding physician, arriving in 1837, and at one time had so many patients they had to come the preceding day to insure getting their treatments. He was a strong abolitionist,

serving for years as "conductor on the underground railway", and his name was prominent in after years, having erected the "Hotel Teegarden," and also naming the village of Teegarden, Indiana."[55] This book cannot be relied upon for it is not well footnoted for sources or other documentation, so additional research is needed on the Teegarden family.

Porter County

The Underground Railroad traveled through Porter County from the east and from the south. William Cockrum discusses one route through Indiana that traveled "to a point near Lake Michigan either in Lake, Porter, or La Porte counties."[56] Dakin describes "another route through the western part of northern Indiana passed near Wanatah and Westville in Laporte county."

Identification of the Norman B. and Sophronia P. (Vanslyke) Tanner household as a station on the UGRR is derived from a county history biographical sketch from 1882. The identification of Tanner as an active participant in the Underground Railroad is simply written in the biographical sketch: "he is a strong Republican and used to be a 'conductor' on the 'underground railroad'." Tanner was born May 28, 1829 in Munson, Geauga County, Ohio to David and Ruth (Cochron) Tanner. He lived with his father in Geauga County until 1840 when he relocated to Union County, Ohio. In 1854 he relocated again to Chicago where he was employed as a boatman. Within the year of 1854, he settled in Porter County where he worked at a sawmill. His employment at the sawmill lasted until the mill burnt in July of 1854. After the destruction of the sawmill, he was employed for approximately four years at a sawmill on the old plank road near Chesterton. Then c. 1858, he rented a farm from a Mr. Dillingham. "After two and a half years nearly" (c. 1860), he purchased the eighty acre farm that he owned at the writing of Counties of Porter and Lake.[57]

Initial response to this biographical sketch would lead one to believe that Tanner ran a station on the UGRR from his farm residence in Liberty Township in Porter County. The location of his activities as a "conductor" is not listed in the biography. It is possible he was a "conductor" while residing in Union County, Ohio (-1854); as a boatman in Chicago (1854); while employed at the two sawmills in Porter County (1854- c.1858); while renting a farm in Liberty Township (c. 1858 – c. 1860.); or for a short time

at the 80-acre farm he purchased (c. 1860). One reference to the Tanner's Liberty Township farm as an actual station was written by local folklorist, William O. Wallace. He states that in Porter County "it was an unmarked trail leading up from the Kankakee to Moss Lake at the Preston Place and then followed Traders' Creek to the Ridge. Someplace in Liberty Township there was a depot where the fugitives were hidden, and assembled until there were enough fro a wagon trip east to Hungry Hollow, and on to the Quaker's helping point, and still on to the Three Oaks area…A mysterious and unknown person who cared for these slaves and took them to the next stop…was Norman Tanner."[58] Wallace does not provide us with any documentation or personal references in the above article. The biographical sketch does not state that Tanner purchased the farm he rented from Mr. Dillingham. Therefore, it is believed that he was active on the Underground Railroad at the two sawmills, the rented farm, and for a short period at the farm he purchased c. 1860.

Another man, whose only reference to UGRR activity was William Rigg. In the 1882 Porter County history, the authors identify him as an abolitionist who came to Porter Township in 1859. This Republican man was also a "large stockholder in the Underground Railroad."[59] To date, this was the only reference to him; additional research is needed.

Lake County

Underground Railroad travel within Lake County generally occurred from the east to the west or from the east to Lake Michigan (north). Underground Railroad travel also existed from Lake County to Chicago. As discussed earlier, the Kankakee marshlands in Lake County prevented most travel from the southern border of the county. The below map from 1852 shows a east to west road traversing north of the "Deep Marsh & Timber Islands." No roads traversed over the southern county line of Lake County in this map.

Merriville - Palmer Station

Hattie Palmer, daughter of Henry D. Palmer, wrote an account of her father's experiences in the settlement of Lake County, as a pioneer doctor, possible enslavement or indentured servitude of an African

American, and a conductor on the Underground Railroad. Palmer was a graduate of Fairfield Medical College in New York. He came to Lake County in 1837. He was on his way from Fayetteville, New York, to Princeton, Illinois, but as he journeyed through Lake County he chose to stay in Indiana until he died in 1877. Palmer's son Asa Cady Palmer was four years old when he moved with his father in 1841. When he was eighty years old, he spoke of his memories of life. He recalled that at the home of Jackson Cady, "A half grown colored boy was carrying pails of water. Mr. Cady said "I traded a horse for him." I suppose he had a good master for the Cady's were all abolitionists. Once a wagon drove to the door in the early morning, while the man and my father talked Cady climbed to the wheel and lifted a covering from what he took to be dressed pork. He got quite a shock. It was several colored men. They were escaping slaves. My father hid them that day in a shed covered with wild hay that did duty as a barn and at night took them on to Michigan."[60] In 1949, the Woman's Auxiliary, Lake County Medical Society placed a state historical marker at the Palmer house with the following inscription:

First Physician
Henry D. Palmer, M.D. (1809-1877) located at this site in 1836.
First physician in Lake County,
he was also counselor to the pioneers for 40 years
and member of the underground railroad aiding escaped slaves.

The Palmer House in Merriville, Indiana was the first state historical marker in Indiana placed to honor the experience of the Underground Railroad. (DHPA Photo)

Within the Kankakee and St. Joseph River Valleys four counties were home to the majority of the African American population. These counties included: Saint Joseph and La Porte Counties in Indiana and Cass and Berrien Counties in Michigan. The Indiana counties of Lake, Porter, Jasper, Newton, Starke, Pulaski, Fulton, Marshall, Elkhart, and Kosciusko were home to a small number of African Americans. It is important to understand the location of African American settlement within the region. Settlement of African Americans in Indiana before the Civil War was not haphazard. Free and fugitive African Americans settled in communities that were populated with at least some community members supportive of African American liberation.

Our earliest knowledge of African American settlement and life in the City of La Porte and surrounding Center Township is derived from a manuscript at the La Porte County Historical Society. The manuscript is believed to be the writing of Ruth Coffeen-Andrew. Within the manuscript, the life of six early African American settlers before 1840 are described in detail. All six settlers described in the manuscript either traveled with non-African American families to La Porte County or were "brought up" by a non-African American family. This description of early pioneer life is the most detailed account known that describes the personal lives of and experiences of pioneer African American settlers.

Perhaps at a future time someone studying the annals of La Porte County may wish to learn something of the African American who came in the pioneer days. In 1834, Joshua Brown came from Lynchburg, bringing his family, and with them a "Negro" named Manual. Being the only Black man in the little town, everyone soon knew his name, and very soon knew he was an ardent Methodist. In 1838 or 1839 John Beal Steenbergen moved from Mt. Jackson, Virginia to a home, a mile west of La Porte. He brought four African Americans with his family: Jim Marshall and his wife and Beverly Gibbs and his wife Amanda. Amanda's life knew all the horrors of slavery. She was born in King Williams County, Virginia, the child of a rich planter and his slave woman. When she was four years old, her master-father died, and in the division of slaves, she was given to another daughter who lived in what is now West Virginia, and her mother fell to another heir, and they never met again.[61]

One important event that impacted the African American communities in northern Indiana was the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849. "Very many important cases affecting the rights of the people and their property were passed upon time to time by the three courts of St. Joseph County. No case,

however, has at any time been tried in our courts which roused the people to a higher pitch of interest at the time or was productive of more lasting results upon the community, not only of this county, but all of northern Indiana, than the fugitive slave case that came before Judge Elisha Egbert in 1849."[62] The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849 involved the capture of a fugitive slave family that was residing in Cass County, Michigan. Their purported "owner" discovered their whereabouts two year after the escape and traveled to Cass County to reclaim his "property."[63] This fugitive slave capture became a "Slave Case" because of the response of African Americans and non-African Americans in the communities of Cass County, Michigan that obstructed the ability of the slave catcher party to return to Kentucky with their "property."

In 1847, the David and Lucy Powell family escaped from enslavement by John Norris of Boone County, Kentucky. Norris and associates pursued them for two months with no success. The Powell family traveled north to Cass County, Michigan via "an unknown route and with an unknown aid."[64] Elkonah Lamb claims that his parents were two of the "unknown aids" to have assisted the Powell family north to Cass County. Two years after this event their escape, Norris was informed that the Powells were living in Michigan. Norris, his agents, and bounty hunters came to Cass County with plans for retrieving his property. Once arrested, they traveled south into Indiana. They stopped in South Bend to resupply. An abolitionist discovered the captured family, and as the group moved out of town, a crowd began gathering in town and soon surrounded Norris and his property. Norris protestes stating the fugitives were his property and that federal law gave him the right to seize them. The fugitives were loaded into other wagons and taken back to South Bend and imprisoned for "safekeeping" until legal proceedings could decide the matter. A State trial ensued. Elkonah Lamb was present at the trail and recounts what he saw in his book:

> The courthouse was densely crowded. Outside a large body of negroes from across the line was congregated. With these were an abolition element, armed with guns, revolvers, and clubs, making it look dubious and damning for the slave-hunters, no matter what the decision might be at the trial. Two lawyers stood up for human rights. On the other side, two, for a large money consideration, prostituted time, talents, and better convictions of righteousness. The trial proceeded with legal acumen evidenced on both sides, every advance being stubbornly contested. There were bitter reflections and sarcastic invectives. The concluding speech was made Lawyer Journegan. In that telling, convincing, incontrovertible effort, he vividly portrayed the glories of freedom—a universal inheritance designed for all men, white or

> black, declaring with emphasis that no man was born with cuffs on his hands or shackles on his feet. He arraigned the sleuth-hounds for injustice and inhumanity, declaring that they violated all good laws, human and divine, traducing righteous principles for unholy purposes, trampling in the dust the tenets of the gospel of peace and good will to all men, not doing unto others as they would have others do unto them. Then, with an appealing peroration, he turned to the people, to the slave-owners, to the judge, and finally to the anxious fugitives, exclaiming: "By the virtue of our Constitution, by the flag of our nation, by the emblematic stars and stripes emblazoned on that banner by the sovereign laws of the State, by the laws of God and human rights, these men and women are free, and cannot be returned to the lash and bondage of slavery.
>
> Lawyer Crocker then took the floor and, with the energetic assistance of the janitor, compelled the crowd to give back and divide, so that these free blacks could pass out, where strong arms hoisted them into waiting vehicles. Suddenly there came upon the scene a cloud of darkness, exclaiming, as they surrounded the wagons, "You are free ! free !" Then there came up from another quarter a huge black man, like a dark avalanche, swinging a large club, exclaiming with a stentorian voice, as he whirled his shillalah in the air, "They're free ! free !" Off went the wagons, manned by jehu drivers. The crowd then united in a shout of victory and triumph that made the court-house corridors and streets ring with notes of freedom, striking with conviction and consternation men who had been guilty of kidnapping or aiding in this nefarious business. This triumph shivered the fugitive slave act into fragments so infinitesimal that it would take a sunbeam a thousand years to find the pieces. In those early days of abolition agitation, the advocates of freedom for the black man were the objects of derision and ostracism to a greater or less extent by both dominating parties—Whigs and Democrats. But the men constituting this element of freedom had the courage of their convictions, nor would they be downed, though bitterly denounced. They knew that right is right and must triumph.[65]

Although Norris did not recover his "property" he did file suit within months after leaving South Bend to recover "damages" due to the loss of his "property." Recovery of damages was filed under section four of the Fugitive Slave Case, which "provided a penalty of $500 for any person who obstructed or hindered anyone lawfully claiming a fugitive slave."[66] By 1855, Norris had collected at least $5,000 in damages from persons involved in securing the freedom of the Powell family in the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849.[67]

What was the importance of the South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849? The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849 disregarded the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which "afforded no protection for fugitive slaves." Dr. Patrick J. Furlong succinctly describes what was being called into question in the

South Bend Fugitive Slave Case of 1849 and other similar cases: "...the question which came before the federal courts was the degree of protection that should be afforded to slave property in states which did not recognize slavery." In other words, runaways from enslavement were afforded no legal recourse under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 in the state of capture to prove their unlawful enslavement. Indeed they were afforded the same rights as a "fugitive from justice." The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was enacted to return the runaway from enslavement to the state the slave catcher(s) for trial or re-enslavement; indeed re-enslavement was the end result of the Act.[68]

Cook and Will Counties, Illinois

In order to detail UGRR activity in northern Indiana, it is necessary to explore the sources in northeastern Illinois (Cook and Will Counties). In Northern Illinois, sources indicate two routes by which fugitives moved from the Illinois border counties of Cook and Will eastward towards Indiana, rather than northward towards Chicago or Wisconsin. One route went from Roseland, Illinois in southern Cook County, through Riverdale, to either a schooner on the Calumet River and/or to Hammond Indiana. Research shows that many of the fugitives coming through Illinois moved onto Indiana in order to find freedom. "One of the leading stations of this underground railroad was the old Holland Settlement at Roseland...from Chicago to Michigan City...and he hitched up a team immediately, concealed the slaves as Mr. Kuyper had done, took the corn from Mr. Kuyper's wagon, covered the Negroes with corn, and departed to a station near Hammond [Indiana], where he delivered his load with instructions to pass it along to the next station in the Dunes. This system was repeated until these men reached Canada in safety."[69] Two sources relate to a unnamed station in the Hammond Area. Runaways were transported to the Hammond/Hohman's Bridge area from South Holland, Illinois in southern Cook County. "Mr. Ton...departed to a station near Hammond, or Hohman's Bridge, where he delivered his load with instructions to pass it along to the next station in the dunes."[70] "From these places [Kuiper and Ton] runaway slaves proceeded to a station in Hammond, on the Indiana state line, and from there went to Detroit and then to Canada."[71] Fugitives were sent into Indiana from Wilmington and Joliet, Will County, to Crown Point, Lake County.

> Samuel Cushing accepted the position of agent and conductor, and his home was a real station. Mr. Cushing thinks he has helped to place beyond the reach of their pursuers, about eighty or ninety of these fugitives. The usual method of operation was to receive the "human chattels" from the hands of a former conductor, from Wilmington or Joliet, before daylight, keep the concealed in the upper room of his cabin through the day; and then as light came on, convey them to Crown Point, Indiana, arriving there before light the next morning. Many incidents of an exciting and interesting character took place, which, but for want of space, are worthy of mention here. Suffice it to say that Mr .Cushing' s operators finally culminated in 1843, in his indictment and arrest for "harboring slaves."[72]

The information that we have uncovered or reconfirmed is helping to paint a broader picture of the events happening in Indiana during the 19th century. Learning about the true stories of the courage that enslaved African Americans had as they left the slave states and moved through Indiana, and then the help they received from various people gives us a broader and more diverse look at the Underground Railroad. By moving away from the tunnels and hidden spaces, we discover the Hoosiers involved in this important piece of American history.

ENDNOTES

[1] S.D. King, Map of the state of Indiana compiled from the United States surveys by S. D. King, Washington City; exhibiting the sections & fractional sections; the situation & boundaries of counties; the location of cities villages & post offices canals, rail roads and other internal improvements, carefully laid down, (New York, S.D. King, 1852).

[2] Charles H. Bartlett, Tales of Kankakee Land, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 1.

[3] Powell A. Moore, The Calumet Region: Indiana's Last Frontier, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1959), 53 - 54.

[4] William Graham, Window to a Changed World: the Personal Memoirs of William Graham, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society: 1998), 106.

[5] Wilbur Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Albert Bushnell Hart, 1968), 137-139.

[6] Richard S. Simon and Francis H. Parker, Railroads of Indiana, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 129.

[7] Graham, Window to a Changed World, 106.

[8] Simon, Railroads of Indiana, 129.

[9] Howard Rogers Vigilant, History of Cass County, Michigan, (Cassopolis, Michigan: Mansfield Company, 1875).

[10] Willard Heiss, A list of all the Friends meetings that exist or ever have existed in Indiana, 1807-1955, (Indianapolis: [s.n.], 1959).

[11] *Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, 1843-1857.*

[12] Esse Bissell Dakin, "The Underground Railroad," South Bend Daily Tribune, 25 April 1899, p 6 - 7.

[13] Helen Hibberd Windle, The Underground Railroad In Northern Indiana, Based on Personal Narratives & Famous Incidents, (South Bend: Self-published, 1939).

[14] Dakin, "The Underground Railroad," 6.

[15] *Ibid.*, 6.

[16] *Ibid.*, 6.

[17] Timothy Gilman Turner, Gazetteer of the St. Joseph Valley, Michigan and Indiana : with a view of its hydraulic and business capacities, (Chicago : Hazlitt & Reed printers, 1867), 63 - 64.

[18] Dakin, "The Underground Railroad," 6.

[19] Elkonah Lamb, *M*emories of the Past and Thoughts of the Future, (Elgin, IL: Press of United Brethren Publishing House, 1906), 28-30.

[20] Dakin, "The Underground Railroad," 6.

[21] *Ibid.*, 7.

[22] "A Narrative of South Bend, 1849-1865: From the Writings of Charles Bartlett, 1853-1937," The Old Courthouse News, Volume 2, Number 1, Winter 1968.

[23] "A Narrative of South Bend."

[24] Bartlett papers, Northern Indiana Historical Society.

[25] "A Narrative of South Bend."

[26] Dakin, "The Underground Railroad," 6.

[27] *Ibid.*, 6.

[28] The Colonizationist, (May 1847). Housed at the Indiana State Library.

[29] Hurley Goodall, Underground Railroad: The Invisible Road to Freedom Through Indiana as Recorded by the Works Progress Administration Writers Project, (Indianapolis: DNR-DHPA, 2001).

[30] Dakin, "The Underground Railroad,"7.

[31] Honorable D. R. Leeper, "Our Pioneer Hotels, Freehand Sketches of Old-Time Houses of Public Entertainment in South Bend," South Bend Times, 30 March 1900.

[32] "A Busy Life Ended," The Times, July 1900; "Adam S. Baker," St. Joseph County Public Library Local History File.

[33] Simon, Railroads of Indiana, 346.

[34] "Early Railroading," Old Lighthouse Museum News, September 1981 Vol. VII no. 3.

[35] "Underground Railroad," article found at the La Porte County Historical Society archives.

[36] Alex Rakowski, *T*he Underground Railroad Activity by County In and Around Northwest Indiana, Self-published: Michigan City, Indiana, 2000. A copy can be found at the Department of Natural Resources- Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

[37] Rakowski, The Underground Railroad.

[38] "Abijah Bigelow," Publication of the Old Lighthouse Museum, Michigan.

[39] Ann Burton and Conrad Burton, Michigan Quakers: Abstracts of Fifteen Meetings of the Society of Friends, 1831-1960, (Decatur, Michigan: Glyndwr Resources, 1989).

[40] "Laid down" refers to when a Quaker meetinghouse is closed and no longer used.

[41] Burton, Michigan Quakers, 1.

[42] Heiss, A list of all the Friends meeting, 53.

[43] Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, 1843-1857.

[44] "Memorial of Rachel Williams, Deceased," Minutes of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, 4 October 1849.

[45] Alfred Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan : with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneer, (Michigan: Alfred Mathews), 261.

[46] *I*ndiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends held at Newport, Wayne Co, Ind, (Indianapolis: Indiana State Journal Steam Press Print, 1852), 11.

[47] Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan.

[48] "Route of Jacob Cummings from New Albany, Floyd County, Indiana," Conversation with Rev. Jacob Cummings of Columbus, Ohio., in Sept, 1894, Wilbur Siebert Files.

[49] "Early Railroading," Old Lighthouse Museum News.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Gladys Bull Nicewarner, Low Cemetery-Coolspring Township, (Michigan: Self-published, 1975) at Michigan City Public Library.

[52] Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, 408.

[53] E.D. Daniels, A Twentieth Century History and Biographical Record of La Porte County, Indiana, (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1904), 554.

[54] *Ibid.*, 553

[55] Backus, La Porte, Indiana: History of First Hundred Years Volume II, 3.

[56] William Cockrum lived in Evansville, Indiana and wrote a book about his father's work on the Underground Railroad. William Cockrum, Pioneer History of Indiana: Including Stories, Incidents and Customs of the Early Settlers, (Oakland City, Indiana: Press of the Oakland City Journal, 1907). William Cockrum, History of the Underground Railroad as It Was Conducted by the Anti-Slavery League, (Oakland City, Indiana: Press of the J.W.Cockrum Printing Co., 1915).

[57] Weston Arthur Goodspeed, Counties of Porter and Lake (1852-1926), (Chicago: Battey & Co., 1882), 368-369.

[58] "The Stroller," Stories of Porter County, Volume 6, 113-115.

[59] Goodspeed, Counties of Porter and Lake, 388.

[60] Hattie Palmer, "A Pioneer Doctor: By the Daughter of an Old Settler," History of Lake County, Volume 10, (Gary, Indiana: Calumet Press, 1929), 115 and 116.

[61] Undated manuscript, papers of Charles Cochran, La Porte County Historical Society.

[62] Howard, Timothy, The History of St. Joseph County, Indiana, 1907.

[63] Turner, Gazetteer of the St. Joseph Valley, 64.

[64] Patrick J. Furlong, "The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case," We the People: Indiana and the Constitution (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1987), 7.

[65] Lamb, Memories of the Past and Thoughts of the Future.

[66] Furlong, "The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case," 17.

[67] *Ibid.*, 21.

[68] *Ibid.*, 13.

[69] George Brennan, Wonder of the Dunes, (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs Merrill, 1923), 124; "Chicago's Wooden Shoe Colony," Chicago Herald Times, 22 December 1895; Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America, Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1955), 546.

[70] Brennan, The Wonders of the Dunes, 126.

[71] Lucas, Netherlanders in America, 546.

[72] George H. Woodruff, History of Will County, 1878.

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